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BUDDHIST & CHRISTIAN GOSPELS

Now First Compared
from the Originals

By Albert J. Edmunds

Honorary Member and American Representative of the International
Buddhist Society of Rangûn

Edited with Parallels and Notes
from the Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka

By M. Anesaki

Professor of the Science of Religion in the Imperial University of Tōkyō

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佛教及基督教之福音

ア. ジェ. エドモンヅ
姉崎正治 共編

東京
有朋館發行

BUDDHIST & CHRISTIAN GOSPELS

BEING GOSPEL PARALLELS FROM PĀLI TEXTS

Now First Compared
from the Originals

By Albert J. Edmunds

Honorary Member and American Representative of the International Buddhist Society of Rangûn, Translator of the Dhammapada, the Buddhist Genesis, etc. Member of the Oriental Society of Philadelphia

THIRD AND COMPLETE EDITION.

Edited with Parallels and Notes
from the Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka

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Professor of the Science of Religion in the Imperial University of Tōkyō

TŌKYŌ
THE YŪHŌKWAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
1905.

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DEDICATED

To my Old & True Friend

John Y. W. MacAlister,

of London.

168519

Preface to the First Edition (1902).

Orientalists are aware that a series of translations entitled *Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts* appeared in *The Open Court* of Chicago in 1900 and 1901, following upon the translation of the Canonical Buddhist Nativity legend, which appeared in 1898. These Parallels have aroused the interest of New Testament scholars, like Rendel Harris and Caspar Gregory, and it is proposed to reprint them, with additions and historical introduction, in book form.

An excellent bibliography of former attempts to compare Christianity and Buddhism will be found in *The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ*, by Charles Francis Aiken, (Boston, 1900, p. 339). From this it appears that one of the first to institute such comparison was the well-known German New Testament scholar, Hilgenfeld, in 1867. The first systematic treatise by an English scholar was *Christianity and Buddhism Compared*, by Robert Spence Hardy (Colombo, 1874); while the standard works upon the whole subject are two in German by Rudolph Seydel, in 1882 and 1884.

It is believed, however, that our present work is the first comparison made from the Pāli texts themselves. Even Spence Hardy did not know Pāli, but Singhalese, and relied upon medieval Ceylon treatises, in which text and commentary are confused. He made some use, however, of a portion of the Pāli Canon which was translated to him by an ex-monk in Ceylon. But Seydel had to rely upon the small fraction of the Canon which had been translated in his time. His son, P. M. Seydel, edited a posthumous work of his father's in 1897; but it still represented the learning of the Eighties. Moreover the Seydels include translations from the Chinese and other post-Christian Buddhist versions alongside of the pre-Christian Pāli. Our present work is the first attempt to compare the Buddhist Pāli with the Christian Greek. Many of our translations in *The Open Court* appeared there for the first time in English, especially from the Enunciations, the Logia Book, and the Middling and Numerical Collections.

Our book will cover some three hundred pages, and as publication may be delayed, the student is presented with the following outline.

Preface to the Second Edition.

Our first edition, printed in 1902, was merely a 16-page abstract of the whole work. The present edition is also fragmentary, except that the section dealing with the Doctrine of the Lord is printed in full. The publication of historical works is very difficult in this age of ephemera. The only genuine publishers are governments, universities and learned societies, together with a very few commercial firms that have men of learning at their head. Not having any influence with the first three, and having sought in vain to find the last or at least to enlist their co-operation, I am compelled to print piecemeal what my funds will permit.

But while the commercial world ignores a work of research, scholars accord it recognition. T. W. Rhys Davids, of London, in an article entitled "Buddhism and Christianity," in *The International Quarterly* for 1903, has called public attention to my book in the following words. Speaking of the premature work of Seydel, he says:

"We shall soon see. An American scholar, Mr. Edmunds, of Philadelphia, is on the point of publishing a complete set of comparisons between the Nikāyas and the Gospels, adducing later materials only by way of comparison and carefully distinguishing them from the earlier documents."

For further information I must refer the reader to our first edition, and to the following numbers of the Chicago *Open Court*, where many of our Parallels have appeared: February, April, June and October, 1900; January and July, 1901: September and November, 1902; April and December, 1903.

I repeat what I said in the provisional preface in 1900:

"No borrowing is alleged on either side—Christian or Buddhist—in these Parallels. We offer no theory but present them as facts. They at least belong to a world of thought which the whole East had in common."

In my unpublished Historical Introduction I have admitted the possibility of a knowledge of the Buddhist Epic on the part of Luke; but his use of it, if actual, was very slight and almost entirely confined to his Infancy Section.

Finally, the Parallels are mainly in ideas, not in words.

3231 Sansom Street, Philadelphia:
Good Friday, 1904.

Preface to the Complete Edition.

The present work is part of a larger one: viz., CYCLOPÆDIA EVANGELICA: *an English Documentary Introduction to the Four Gospels.*

I may truly say it is my life-work. In 1875 I compiled a manuscript Harmony of the Gospels, which laid the foundation of my studies, after a good Quaker knowledge of those corner-stones of sacred literature. In 1877, I had some instruction in the Greek Testament and the classics from William Scarnell Lean. In 1879 I met with two remarkable men, who incited me to read the *Sacred Books of the East*, then beginning to appear. They were Thomas Dixon, the workman-friend of Ruskin, and William Brockie. The latter was a self-made scholar of an original type, and a philologist of no mean calibre. These two men set the key-note of my life. In 1880 I began to read the sacred books, and in 1890 took up a course of study in the Greek Gospels and the early Fathers, with Rendel Harris for a guide. In 1891 I began the Documentary Introduction, by tabulating patristic quotations; and in 1898 finished all but the portion which is to deal with comparative religion. Since 1895 I have studied Pāli literature in isolation, but with frequent encouragement from Lanman, the successor of Whitney as the leader of American Indianists.

My Cyclopædia, if ever it see the light, will contain the following matter:

1. Preface.

2. The Gospel of Mark in English, with the common matter in heavy type, after the manner of Abbott and Rushbrooke, only that the agreements of any two evangelists are so treated, instead of three or four.

3. The Logia-source similarly exhibited by the matter common to Luke and Matthew.

4. All quotations from the Gospels and references to the life of Christ down to Justin Martyr inclusive (A. D. 150), conformed to the Revised Version of 1881, thereby exhibiting some quotations disguised in the current translations of the Fathers.

5. Lists of New Testament books from the earliest MSS. (part of this portion appeared in *The Friend:* Philadelphia; 1st Mo. 28, and 2nd Mo. 4, 1899.)

6. The Eusebian Canons and Ammonian Sections accurately tabulated, with contents, besides having been given in the margin of Mark.

7. New Testament and patristic passages on the growth of the Canon, arranged under heads that shew the development.

8. Jewish and non-Christian prophecies and parallels, whereof the present work is a portion. Under the same head is included the evangelical element in Philo. I hope also to add the Talmudic statements about Jesus.

9. List of lost works of the first and second centuries.

10. Jerome's Lives of the Evangelists, with notes, pointing out older authorities. (This appeared in pamphlet form at Philadelphia in 1896, and is now exhausted.)

11. A study of the transmission of the different sacred literatures of the world, compared with that of the New Testament. (Part of this study was read before the American Oriental Society in 1896).

12. Appendix on the Infancy Sections (Matthew I.–II; Luke I.–II.)

Seydel's large work on the Buddhist and Christian Gospels I have only lately seen, and his smaller one[1] came into my hands when my book was almost done; but as this truly original scholar did not know Pāli, and wrote at a time when even translations from the Buddhist Canon were few, his work must needs be done again. It is absolutely imperative to study these parrllels in their earliest forms, which are to be found in the Pāli Piṭakas and the Greek New Testament. Comparison of late patristic additions is quite another thing. Some of the most searching Parallels can only be seen by a knowledge of the Greek: e. g. *αἰωνιον ἁμαρτημα* and *ὁ Χριστος μενει εἰς τον αἰωνα.*

In choosing these Parallels I have been guided more by central ideas than by verbal agreement, of which there is little. Take for example the story of the Penitent Thief. In the

(1) **Die Buddha-Legende und das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien.** (Weimar, 1877, Ed. 2.) This is edited by his son, but the father's work is hardly brought down below 1884, the date of the first edition.

Buddhist and Christian narratives there is nothing on the surface to suggest a parallel. But, looking deeper, we find in both the following central ideas:

1. Conversion of a robber.
2. His complete forgiveness (except as to physical pains)
3. His happiness hereafter.

Moreover, there is the Johannine doctrine of the New Birth, while a genuine Gospel spirit of pity for the poor and outcast breathes through the whole. No wonder the story was so popular. As pointed out in my note, it is one out of a choice group of leading scenes in Buddha's life which were graven on the great Tope in the ancient capital of Ceylon, in the second century before Christ. The Chinese, too, have more than one version of the story in separate form, as well as the Canonical translation in their Āgamas.

When a Christian parallel narrative is told by more than one Evangelist, my principles of selection are as follows: If one Gospel agree more closely with the Pāli than another, I give its account alone, leaving the student to refer to the parallel or parallels in other Gospels in the usual way. If there be no such choice, I give Mark the preference in narrative (and in such discourses as he may relate) because of his primacy among the Synoptists.(2) If Mark have no account of the parallel in question, I prefer the First Gospel to Luke, because (1) it contains the substance of the lost Logia-source (which was perhaps older than Mark) in fuller measure than Luke; and (2) because Luke so frequently agrees with the Pāli when the others do not, that I do not wish to make out a case for him by using him where there is no need. My use of the Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse has been sparing, my aim being to compare the Masters. These books doubtless contain, however, doctrines and sayings which go back to Christ, as well as acknowledged developments and borrowings from non-Christian fields. But then the Pāli Texts themselves contain the late doctrines of the Order side by side with the words of the Master, the *Sāvaka-bhāsitā* as well as the *Tathāgata-bhāsitā*.

Regarding these translations, it must be borne in mind that many of them have been made for the first time in English, or even in a European tongue. The Pāli language has not been

(2) The Twentieth Century New Testament rightly places Mark at the head of the gospels.

studied long enough to give it the fixity of Greek and Latin. The only Dictionary is far from perfect, though it cost the heroic Childers his life. If I have therefore made mistakes, I shall be grateful to have them corrected. I may be reproached for translating Brahmā by "God," but Buddhists themselves, though agnostic as regards the Deity, use the name to represent the Brahmin idea of a conscious Supreme Being, as well as the Archangel and archangels of their own mythology.

Many of the parallels came to me independently while reading the Pāli Texts or their versions; but I have also been helped by the works of Max Müller, Renan, Beal, Rhys Davids, Oldenberg, Fausböll, Estlin Carpenter, Copleston and Rendel Harris,[3] all of whom have pointed out parallels between Buddhism and Christianity. I have also found Lillie and Carus suggestive, though by no means agreeing with all their conclusions.

Then I have made use of those scholars who have traced the course of Indian communications with the west: Robertson, Claudius Buchanan, Lassen, Reinaud, Priaulx, John Davies, Birdwood, Hopkins and D'Alviella. Nor must I forget the debt I owe to the London Pāli Text Society, but for whose valuable editions in Roman type, my work could never have been done.

The lamented Henry C. Warren, in his *Buddhism in Translations*, (Harvard University, 1896) deals more with the metaphysics of the religion than with its popular aspects. Moreover, fully half his work is taken from commentaries and other uncanonical sources. My own rule has been to confine myself to the pre-Christian canonical texts.

The Dhamma of Gotamma the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ, by Charles Francis Aiken (Boston, 1900) has come into my hands in time to profit by some of its useful suggestions. Thus, I have banished the alleged parallel to Nicodemus, have introduced the words "Capital" and "Pæan" into the title of the *Triumphal Entry*, and have given a fuller extract here than I had done before reading Aiken. I have also added

(3) Especially in correspondence with me. For bibliography generally, I refer the reader to the valuable one in Dr. Aiken's book mentioned below, merely adding that he has omitted Neuman's translation of the *Majjhima Nikāyo*: 1896–1902, and has put Milindo among the Pāli texts, instead of among the commentaries.

a few lines in my introduction about Buddhists committing suicide, &c. These are the chief places where Dr. Aiken has influenced the text of my Parallels or my Historical Introduction, but I have frequently mentioned him in the notes. When, therefore, we make almost identical statements, as we do in the case of the lack of Buddhist memorials in the Greek empire, we are writing independently of each other. On this particular point, however, we have had a guide in Estlin Carpenter.

I thoroughly agree with the learned Catholic divine in his maintenance of the independent origin of Buddhist and Christian Scriptures, provided we mean their fundamental documents. The Epistles of Paul, the Gospel of Mark, and the Logia-Source are dependent for their primary inspiration upon the life and deeds of Jesus, and secondly upon the Old Testament oracles, the current beliefs of the times, as embodied in works like *Enoch:* and the personal convictions of earnest men like Paul, Peter and Matthew. But when we come to late documents, such as Luke, John, and the canonical First Gospel, other influences have crept in. This is now admitted by all historical critics, and the most that I advance in this direction is the possiblity of the Gentile Gospel of Luke, in certain traits extraneous to the Synoptical narrative, having been tinged by the Gotamist Epic.

Dr. Aiken is just in many of his criticisms upon certain parallels adduced by former writers, as far-fetched. But he goes too far when he reduces the parallelism in the Triumphal Entry to the bare fact of the Masters entering a city, "which," he truly says, "is no parallel at all." But he omits the number of monks who are said to have surrounded Gotama, viz., one thousand, a round number, doubtless, but indicative of quite a company to walk into a capital, with a Brahmin youth at their head chanting a paean. Considering that a rising sect were the guests of a king, I think the entry was decidedly one of triumph, while the reply of Sakko to the people, that he was the [royal] attendant of Buddha (also omitted by Aiken) savours somewhat of "the king that cometh," &c. As I have pointed out, too, in my note, there is a curious verbal likeness between the Greek and the Pāli of the two refrains. Dr. Aiken says that the story "is not found in the most ancient forms of the Buddha legend, and is entirely unknown to the northern school." But it occurs in the canonical Pāli of the Mahāvaggo,

one of the oldest Buddhist documents, and is found in Chinese in the Madhyamāgama, Sūtra 62. (see p. 116.)

I repeat that what we are looking for is not words, but ideas. Thus, Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 81, draws a parallel between the Buddhist practice of *sati* (i. e. doing everything with full consciousness) and the Christian one of doing all to the glory of God. To the theologian this is no parallel at all, but to a psychologist like Rhys Davids it is one. Dr. Aiken has not made sufficient use of the Pāli Canon; and I hope that when his work goes into a second edition, he will avail himself of our present material.

I wish to thank the venerable Ellis Yarnall (born in 1817) who, since 1889, has allowed me to use the Philadelphia (Franklin) Library in his name; and Professor Morris Jastrow, who has been instrumental in giving me full access to that of the University of Pennsylvania.

I also thank all those who have helped me, not forgetting the fair wielders of that convenient instrument, the type-writer. Many of the present Parallels have appeared in *The Open Court*, beginning with August, 1898. Those headed *Healing the Sick*, are reprinted by permission of the editor of *Freedom*, a weekly paper formerly published at Sea-Breeze, Florida, where they first appeared: December 27th, 1899, and January 24th, 1900.

In the transliteration of Pāli names, I still prefer Neumann's practice of retaining the masculine nominative in o: e. g., *Ānando*, instead of *Ānanda*. As Neumann says, the ending in *a* is neither Sanskrit nor Pāli, but Eḷu. My single exception is the name of *Buddha*, properly *Buddho*. But the former is now an English word. To Neumann's defence of his practice may be added the universal rule of European languages to represent classical names in the nominative case. The first people to transliterate Hindu names into a European alphabet were the Greeks, and they used the nominative case: e. g. Ἐρανυοβοας=Hiranyabāhas. Take away the case-ending, and the identification is incomplete. Not only so, but the o-termination brings out the likeness of Pāli to Spanish and Italian.(4)

(4) Edwin Arnold has set his seal upon the poetic value of the o-ending in the line:

"The Buddha died, the great Tathāgato."

Had he written "Tathāgata," the line would have lost its melody. As I am often asked what is the source of Arnold's poem, I may here state that he tells

Lastly, it is confusing to an outsider to see the a-termination, for he associates it with the Latin feminine (unless he have the good fortune to know Anglo-Saxon). Except the name of Buddha, therefore, my Pāli words ending in *a* are neuters, with the terminal nasal elided, or else they are masculines in composition, e. g. *Dīgha*, for Dīgha-Nikāyo. As Sanskrit names have gained greater currency among us than Pāli, I leave them in their contracted form: e. g. Açva-ghosha for Açvaghoshas.

The Four Great Nikāyos are quoted by their English names, thus:

Long Collection = Dīgha-Nikāyo.
Middling Collection = Majjhima-Nikāyo.
Classified Collection = Saṃyutta-Nikāyo.
Numerical Collection = Aṅguttara-Nikayo.

Other portions of the Canon are cited thus:

Major Section on Discipline = Mahāvaggo
Minor „ „ „ = Cullavaggo
Book of Temptations = Māra-Saṃyuttam (in the Classified Collection)
Short Recital = Khuddaka-Pāṭho
Hymns of the Faith = Dhammapadam
Collection of Suttas = Sutta-Nipāto
Enunciations = Udānam
Logia-Book = Itivuttakam
Birth-Stories = Jātakam
Statement of Theses = Kathā-Vatthu

I prefer to quote the number of the Sutta or Nipāto, rather than the page of the London edition, because then my references are equally good for the King of Siam's edition, European translations, or the palm-leaves themselves.

Passages quoted from other writers are in the usual type, in quotation marks. The practice of putting interesting matter in small type is not a good one. Italics are used to point out important passages.

In conclusion, I wish to pay a loving tribute, first to my father, Thomas Edmunds, who died in 1880, and secondly to

us himself: viz., Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (1853), a work founded not upon Pāli, but upon Singhalese treatises, wherein text and commentary are hopelessly mixed. It is therefore impossible to ascertain the early form of any legend from Arnold, and his work is only valuable as poetry. Hardy is valuable when used with discrimination.

Frederick Dawson Stone, late Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but for whom this work could never have been done. My father generously allowed me to follow my bent, while it was Dr. Stone who endowed me with TIME, which is dearer to the scholar than lucre, dearer even than life. In garret or in library, my studies have been pursued amid all the vicissitudes of a quarter of a century of human existence. I have often been at sea in my investigations, not knowing whither I was sailing; but the Gospels, Christian and Buddhist, have been my guiding-star, and the study of them my ruling passion; while such men as Frederick Stone have made it possible for me to study at all, or even to live. Finally, my motto has been: BUY THE TRUTH AND SELL IT NOT.

Albert J. Edmunds.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania: 1900–1904.

Editor's Preface.

It was in the last Spring that a letter reached me from Philadelphia expressing a warm sympathy with my unpublished studies on the Sagātha-vaggo of the Saṃyutta-nikāyo. Albert J. Edmunds, a name before unknown to me, was the sender of the letter. He had a book on the Gospel parallels from the Pāli scriptures which found no publisher and which the author published partially on his own expense. My paper on the Sagātha-vaggo was read before the XIII. International Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg but the research in detail could find no publisher. These circumstances were the first bonds which connected our mutual sympathy. But as our correspondence went on, it became manifest that our sympathy did depend not merely upon these outer circumstances but more upon the same spiritual tendency and the psychical current flowing between us, notwithstanding difference of races and distance of abodes.

My interest in the little book, a partial publication of Edmunds' work, and my eagerness to find out common elements between the Pāli Nikāyos and the Chinese Āgamas aroused in me a desire to publish the whole of the work with parallels and notes from the latter. The book now published is the result.

The Āgamas and the Nikāyos, the one translated into Chinese but neglected by the Buddhists of the North since a thousand of years, and the other kept carefully by the Buddhists of the South in its original Pāli, meet here again printed side by side in Chinese and in English respectively. It seems to me an undeniable fact that the Pāli Nikāyos and the Chinese Āgamas had been derived from the same source. Comparative study of these two branches of traditions will throw some light on the original construction or content of the Buddhist scriptures, and consequently on its history. If this present edition of Edmunds' work may contribute one brick to the large edifice of further study of the history of Buddhism my labour of the edition will not remain without its wage.

As to the relations or relative positions of the two greatest religions of the world, Buddhism and Christianity, there remains much to be studied and to be thought. I shall be contented with saying that they have still their futures and that they must recognise each other. America, the western extremity of Christendom and Christian civilization, and Japan, the east-most country with a long history of the eastern civilization, are now confronted face to face on the both sides of the Pacific Ocean. If these two nations could contribute conjointly something to the civilization of the twentieth century, would it not be on the line of mutual understanding of the two religions and the two cultures founded upon them respectively? Europeans will smile at a thought like this. But I venture to say, the Atlantic Ocean, well-nigh the Mediterranean Sea, is no more the lake of the civilized world. Buddha must be recognised his significance side by side with Christ; Nāgārjuna with Augustin; Tāo-süen with Francis of Assisi; the paintings of the Takuma school with those of the Quatracentos. I wish this publication may give help to the mutual understanding of both peoples, western and eastern, Christian and Buddhist.

It was my thought to print the Chinese parallels translated into English. But most of them are too similar to the Pāli to be translated. I added some notes to the passages which

so differs from the Pāli as to be noticed. The texts which agree with the Pāli as a whole book, sutta or sūtra, are called corresponding texts and signed **C. T.** Those which agree in single passages, but not as a whole, are called corresponding passages and signed **C. P.** Beside these two categories, similar passages, **S. P.**, mean those found in different texts and not quite agreeing with the Pāli. Those Chinese words not found in the Pāli are omitted mostly and marked with ..... Sometimes these passages are necessary for the context, they are printed in square bracksts [ ]. A line —— means a place where there is a passage in the Pāli but not in the Chinese. **N. C.** means Nanjio's Catalogue and the references (as for example 欣九 39 *a*) are given after the Japanese edition of 1880-1885 which have a very good arrangement of the whole Tripiṭaka (see Nanjio, p. xxvi and Takakusu's Chestomathy, p. ii, note 2).

My English was printed as it was written down by me. I hope my bad English will not be blamed as a misuse of the language but be allowed by scientific men.

Finally I express my gratitude to the Author of the book that he has allowed this edition of a life-work of his to be published here.

Anesaki Masahar.

Tōkyō, Good Friday, April 21st. 1905.

ABBREVIATIONS.

S. B. E. Sacred Books of the East. Edited by F. Max Müller. 49 vols. Oxford, 1879–1904. [Vol. X contains the *Dhammapada* Hymns and the Collection of Suttas (*Sutta-Nipāto*), quoted here from second edition, 1898. Vol. XI, Dialogues Nos. 13, 16 and 17 of the Long Collection; Nos. 2, 6 and 16 of the Middling Collection, together with Buddha's First Sermon. Vols. XIII, XVII and XX contain the Major and Minor Sections of Discipline. All other Buddhist translations in the **S. B. E.** are of later age.]

Dialogues. Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. 1. Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids. London, 1899. [Long Collection, Nos. 1–13.]

Neumann. Die Reden Gotamo Buddho's, aus der Mittleren Sammlung, Majjhima-nikāyo, des Pāli-Kanons, zum ersten Male übersetzt von Karl E. Neumann. Leipzig, 1896–1902, 3 vols. [The Middling Collection in German.]

Warren. Buddhism in Translations. By Henry Clarke Warren. Harvard University, 1896. [Contains parts of Long Collection, Nos. 11, 15 and 22; Middling Collection, Nos. 26, 63 and 72; and much from other parts of the Pāli Canon and Commentaries.]

Grimblot. Sept Suttas Pālis. Par P. Grimblot. Paris, 1876. [Long Collection, Nos. 1, 2, 10, 15, 20, 31, 32, in Pali; with translations, mostly in English by Gogerly.]

Oldenberg. Buddha: his Life, his Doctrine, his Order. By Hermann Oldenberg. Translated by William Hoey. London, 1882.

Windisch. Māra und Buddha. Von Ernst Windisch. Leipzig, 1895. [Contains the whole of the Book of Temptations (Māra-Saṃyutta) in German.]

Open Court. Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts. Translated from the originals, by Albert J. Edmunds. Chicago; February, April, June and October, 1900; January and July, 1901; September and November, 1902; April and December, 1903. See also August and November, 1898; June, 1899. [The whole of Middling Collection, Nos. 86 and 123 are among these, except stanzas at the end of 86. In *The Buddhist*, July, 1901 (Colombo, Ceylon) No. 86 is translated from a Singhalese gloss.]

SELECTED ERRATA OF

BUDDHIST AND CHRISTIAN GOSPELS

NOW FIRST COMPARED FROM THE ORIGINALS: BEING

"GOSPEL PARALLELS FROM PALI TEXTS,"

REPRINTED WITH ADDITIONS.*

In exculpation of the many misprints in this book the author wishes to say that the Japanese publishers warned him beforehand of their inability to keep type standing for seven weeks while the mails came and went between them, in consequence of which both parties were greatly hampered in attending to the proof-sheets and their revision. There are about 500 errata all told, and the following list, including also some oversights of his own, are the most important ones.

Page v, note 1 For *1877* read *1897*.
" 1, line 14. For *How* read *Now*.
" 5, " 7. For *Question* read *Questions*.
" 5, " 28. Delete quotation marks at the end.
" 5, " 33. For *Minister* read *Minster*.
" 12, " 1. For *Section* read *Sections*,
" 13, " 18. For *omission* read *omissions*.
" 13, " 19. For *this* read *his*.
" 21, " 10. For *cares* read *career*.
" 21, last line but one. For *the gestation*, read *gestation*.
" 22, lines 7 and 8. For *that* read *the*.
" 22, note 56, last line. For *67* read *69*.
" 24, line 8 from end. For *Caucasus* read *Caucasum*.
" 24, line 4 from end. For *pointed* read *pointing*.
" 24, last line. For *Pallavabhāge* read *Pallavabhāgo*.
" 25, line 12. For *spirits* read *spirit*.
" 27, " 4. For *figures* read *fingers*.
" 27, last line but one. For *the healing* read *healing*.
" 31, note 88. For *896* read *1896*.
" 31, " 88. For *120* read *20*.
" 31, line 9 from end. For *Karpasa* read *Karpāsa*.

* This is the corrected title of the book.

Page 33, lines 15 and 33. Delete quotation marks at the ends of the lines.
" 37, line 13. For *or* read *of*.
" 37, note 111. For *1890* read *1899*.
" 40, line 4. For *here* read *hither*.
" 42, " 12. For *has* read *had*.
" 42, " 16. For *fact* read *a fact*.
" 45, note 134. For *VI.* read *IV.*
" 47, " 143, line 2. For *the* read *their*.
" 49, line 7. For *on* read *in*.
" 49, " 8. For *influence* read *influenced*.
" 55, " 5—7. Romanize from *Anando* ....to.... *body*.
" 56, " 1. Romanize *Anando*.
" 63, headline. For *2. The Nativity* read *3. Angelic Heralds*. So also pp. 65 and 67.
" 63, line 1. of verse. For *in thirteen troops* read: *the hosts of the Thirty*
" 63, verse 3, line 2. For *victor* read *victory*.
" 65, " 3, ,, 2. For *trapping* read *trappings*.
" 65, " 5, ,, 2. For *suddened* read *saddened*.
" 66, line 2. For *the* read *in the*.
" 66, verse 2, line 2. For *forth to the* read *forth to lead the*.
" 66, " 3, ,, 1. For *Then* read *When*.
" 67, line 3. For *sage, he* read *sage he*.
" 70, " 20. For *James'* read *James*.
" 70, " 25. For *35*, read *36*.
" 75, " 15. For *one* read *ones*.
" 75, " 5, from end. For *there of* read *thereof*.
" 92, " 14. For *powerlessness* read *homelessness*.
" 93, " 8. For *V. 37* read *Stanza 37*.
" 99, " 3. For *when saw* read *when ye saw*.
" 99, " 2, from end. For *her* read *him*,
" 104, " 1. For *states* read *state*.
" 108, " 25. Move [*The Robber:*] two lines above.
" 108, " 24, For *in great Wood* read: *in the Great Forest*.
" 108, note 3, line 2. For *ideal of* read: *ideal or*.
" 108, " 6. For *Tanvakari* read: *Anvakāri*.
" 111, " 10. line 2. For *Both words are* read: *The second word is*.
" 111, " 10. ,, 3. Delete the second *caused to be*.
" 118, second paragraph, line 7. For *reads* read: *read*.
" 118, second paragraph, line 8. For *alone these* read: *alone by these*.
" 119, line 3 from end. Move *trance* to line above before *mind*.
" 119, note 4, line 1. For *germ* read *danger*.
" 123, line 5. For *Testament* read *New Testament*.
" 123, line 17. Insert quotation marks after *on*.
" 123, " 19. After *away*, insert: ; *the deep breathing is a sign that they are coming on, and not going away*.
" 123, " 30. Move *(or, Trance)* to line above.
" 125, " 10. For *or* read: *of*.
" 129, " 2. For *IX. 38* read: *IX. 23*.
" 129, Numerical Collection, third paragraph, line 1. For *quality* read *single quality*
" 136, line 1. For *I* read *If*.

Page 137, line 16 and 17 of English text. Delete: *the anointed feet wiped with a woman's hair.*

" 137, " 3 from end. For *Elects* read *Elect.*

" 137, note 9 line 8 For *versions* read *version.*

" 137, note 9 line 10. Insert initials *(A. M.)* after note 9

" 167, line 3 from end. For *VI.* read *IV.*

" 172, " 1. For *states* read *state.*

" 183, " 1. For *XIX.* read *XXI.*

" 185. The notes are confused. *Note 1* is to the word *Metteyyo* (line 11); *Note 2* is to *Holy One* (line 12) and the figure *(2)* should be inserted in the footnote before *Arahat; Note 3* is Anesaki's to the Chinese, and is wrongly numbered 2.

" 188, line 12 from end. For *both great* read: *both the great.*

" 191, long paragraph, line 2. For *Apocalypse* read: *New Testament.*

" 198, line 14 from end. Insert a second square bracket after *(devaloko.)*

" 198, " 8 from end. Insert a first square bracket before *This.*

" 199, " 24. For *fiend* read: *fiends.*

" 199, After rubric to Parallel 77, add: *Pessimism.*

" 211, line 16. For *more are* read: *more who are.*

" 213, " 8 from end. Delete *the.*

" 213, " 7 from end. For *James'* read *James.*

" 218, " 9. For *151* read *181.*

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Page 227. For *Mark IX. 38* read *Mark IX. 23.*

Page 228. For *Luke XIX. 27, 28* read *Luke XXI. 27 28.*

Page 229. Under *Majjhima Nikayo*, delete *35* with title and Page number, and add the latter to *36.*

Page 230. For Anguttara *VI. 185*, read *IV. 185.* For Dhp. *19*, read *129.*

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

The Antiquity of the Pāli Texts.

The unhistorical character of most things Hindū does not apply to the religion of Gotamo. Asoko, the Buddhist Constantine, upon three different rocks, in different parts of India, and in two different alphabets, has engraved the names of five Greek Kings to whom he sent ambassadors :[1] viz., Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander. These five kings could only be reigning all at once between B. C. 262 and 258. The first was Antiochus Theos, who reigned at Antioch from B. C. 262 to 247. The second was the celebrated Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned at Alexandria from B. C. 285 to 247, and was the founder or expander of the Alexandrine Library. The other kings were Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon, B. C. 278–239; Magas of Cyrene, 308–258; and Alexander of Epirus, 272–219. How, two of these kings were patrons of learning: Antigonus attended the lectures of Zeno the Stoic,[2] and Ptolemy caused the Pentateuch to be translated into Greek. His librarian, according to Epiphanius, was anxious to translate also the books of the Hindūs.[3] Asoko declares, in the same edict, that he had made a "religious conquest," not only in India, but in the dominions of the five Greek kings, as well as in Ceylon; and that in all these countries his religion was being accepted. In Edict 2, he informs us that over the same territory he had caused wells to be dug and medicinal herbs to be planted, for the sake of man and beast. Now the Ceylon Chronicles confirm the inscriptions, and record that he sent Buddhist missionaries into Ceylon, Cashmere, and the realm of the Greeks. In Ceylon the religion has persisted to this day, with all its texts and commentaries; in Cashmere it has dwindled into corrupt

(1) Edict 13. Cunningham: **Corpus Inscriptorum Indicarum.** London, 1879. Sénart: **Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi.** Paris, 1881–1886, 2 vols. Vincent A. Smith: **Asoka.** London, 1901.

(2) Diogenes Laërtius, **Vitae Philosophorum** VII. 8.

(3) Epiphan. de **Mens. et Pond.** 9. I owe this reference and some others, to Estlin Carpenter. (*Nineteenth Century:* December, 1880.) All have been verified.

insignificance, while in the ancient empire of the Greeks it has left no records, except in moments and coins in the Panjāb and Afghanistan. These are proof enough that the absence of sacred texts in any country by no means implies that Buddhism was never there. We may therefore reasonably conclude that Asoko's "religious conquest" did at least number some votaries in Athens, Antioch and Alexandria. If however, the mission was not lasting in its results, it was not the fault of either side. On the one hand was a proselytising Buddhist emperor, and on the other hand were kings who studied philosophy and translated what they could find of the Sacred Books of the East.

The Pāli Texts were in existence, at least orally, in the time of Asoko. On the rock at Bairāt in Rājputāna, Asoko recommends to the study of monks, nuns and laymen seven different portions of Scripture.[4] The titles of five of these can be identified with certainty in the Sutta-Piṭakaṃ today.[5] A sixth can be identified with reasonable assurance in the Vinaya-Piṭakaṃ; while the remaining one, which stands first in the list, is entitled *The Exaltation of the Discipline* (*Vinaye*). This, as I have shewn elsewhere, is probably the First Sermon, with some introductory matter. The peculiar word, translated *Exaltation*, is found in an adjectival form in a stereotyped phrase of the Pāli texts.[6]

According to the Ceylon Chronicles, Asoko called a Council of the Order, whereat the Canon was apparently closed. Its latest treatise, *the Statement of Theses*, was then promulgated,[7] while the president of the Council taught Asoko's son the five Nikāyos, the Higher Doctrine and the Discipline: that is, the three divisions of the Canon. The Island Chronicle, which tells us this, is at least older than the fifth century after Christ, while in substance it is centuries older still. Its trustworthiness is confirmed not only by Asoko's missionary inscriptions, as we have seen, but also by the discovery of a sarcophagus at Sāñcī,

(4) Asoko's word for *Portion of Scripture* or *Expositions of Doctrine* is used repeatedly in the Pāli texts to mean a discourse of Gotamo's, and it occurs in one of these very portions selected by Asoko, viz. the *Question of Upatisso* (Mahāvaggo I. 23.) The phrase (with dialectical variations) was long perpetuated, and we find it repeatedly in the late patristic *Lotus*.

(5) Rhys Davids: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1898; also Manual of Buddhism, edition of 1899, pp. 224, 225.

(6) E. g. **Udāna V. 3.** For my identification of the Vinaya-samukkaṃsa, see The Light of Dharma: San Francisco, April and July, 1901.

(7) *Pakāsayi* and *desesi* are the words used. I adopt the conclusion of Oldenberg and others, that these words mean "published for the first time."

in the heart of India, bearing the legend: "Majjhimo, the apostle of the Hīmālayas." Now the Ceylon Chronicles state that this very Majjhimo was the missionary sent by Asoko to this region. Other inscriptions, confirmatory of Buddhist Scriptures and records, were discovered in 1897 and 1898."[8] The former, by Asoko, marks the place where Buddha was born, mentioning the name of Lumbinī, which is found in the sacred texts.[9] The other inscription, found in 1898, is older than Asoko, and confirms the book of the Great Decease on the division of the Sage's relics.[10]

Shortly after the death of Asoko, about B. C. 200, was built the great rail around the tope of Bharahat in Central India.[11] Upon this rail, in addition to Scriptual titles, there are the names of pious Buddhists who are described as "reciters," "versed in the Dialogues," "versed in the Baskets," and "versed in the Five Collections."[12] Of these Five Collections or *Nikāyos* (also called *Āgamas*) four are mentioned by name in the *Divyāvadāna*, a Sanskrit work emanating from a different school from the one represented by the Pāli texts. In Chinese versions the whole four have been handed down in literary form, and bear sufficient resemblance to their Pāli namesakes to show that both recensions have a common source.[13]

The Ceylon Chronicles affirm that the Canon was reduced to writing in that island about 40 B. C., having been transmitted for four hundred years by schools of reciters. Now we have sufficient outside testimony from travellers of different nations—Chinese, Arab and English—that manuscripts were copied in Ceylon from the fifth century downwards. Robert Knox, the Englishman, saw the monks writing the sacred texts on palm-leaves in the seventeenth century. Abû-zaid, the Muslim, compiling the travels of Arab merchants of the ninth century, uses

(8) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., 1898, p. 533.

(9) S. B. E., Vol. X, part 2, p. 125.

(10) S. B. E., Vol. XI., p. 132. The statement, in the Pāli, that the Sākyas made a mound like the rest, is omitted in the translation on p. 134. See Rhys Davids note in J.R.A.S. 1898, p. 588. Cf 現身佛と法身佛 p. 194.

(11) Fergusson: **History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.** London, 1876, p. 85. Cunningham: **The Stupa of Bharhut.** London, 1879: Pillar 85, and Rails 41 and 52, &c.

(12) With the *Sepaṭakino* of Bharahat, compare the *Tepiṭako* of *Milindo*, p. 19; also *Tipeṭako* in Buddhaghoso's introduction to the Vinayo, p. 313 and *Tipiṭakadharo*, ibid., p. 299.

(13) **Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka**, by Bunyu Nanjio. Oxford, 1883, Column 127.

the remarkable words: "The Kingdom of Ceylon (Serendib) has a law, and doctors who assemble from time to time, just as the persons who collect the traditions of the Prophet have reunion among us. The Indians betake themselves to doctors and write, under their dictation, the life of their prophets and the precepts of their law."[14] Fā Hien, the Chinaman, in the fifth century, spent three years in Ceylon copying MSS., and took them to China, We can therefore credit the chronicles of the island, and trust them when they say that the sacred texts were first written down about 40 B.C.

The schools of reciters, who preceded the scribes, are mentioned in inscriptions of the third or second century B. C. at Bharahat. They also occur in *The Questions of King Milindo*—that book which I call the Bāddhist Irenæus—as well as in the ancient commentaries and in the Canon itself. King Milindo has been identified with the Greek Menander, who reigned in the Panjāb one hundred years before Christ. The work itself roundly fixes his date at five hundred years after Gotamo's decease. As most ancient Buddhists, except Asoko and the Ceylon Chronicles, deal with centuries and not with years, the date in question roughly corresponds to the first century of the Christian era. *The Milindo-Questioning* is quoted by Buddhaghoso in the fifth Century A.D., and must therefore be dated between Menander and him. The book itself, when alluding to Gotamo's prophecy that his religion would last only five hundred years, does not betray any consciousness that it had lasted longer, and may be reasonably fixed at the time of the Flavian Emperors. Moreover, the fact that this very prediction has come down unaltered in the canonical Discipline, while it has been changed to five thousand in post-Christian commentaries,[15] is in favor of a pre-Christian origin for the text. When the five hundred years had expired, and yet the religion was making new conquests in China, it became expedient for Buddhist Fathers to add a cipher to Gotamo's five hundred. Returning to Milindo we may say that, as the New Testament is immanent in the pages of Irenæus, so are the Pāli Piṭakas in the pages of *Milindo*. Before Irenæus (A.D. 190) our quotations from the Gospels are

(14) Abū-zaid, translated by Reinaud in 1845 (after Renaudot, 1718) and edited by Chardon: *Voyageurs anciens et modernes*: Paris, 1859, Tom. 2, p. 143.

(15) E.g., the commentary on the Long Collection and the Great Chronicle of Ceylon.

fragmentary and inexact—not enough to prove by themselves that any Gospel existed in its present form; though, taken together with Tatian's Diatessaron, they prove it by cumulative evidence, especially the quotations of Justin Martyr, who was Tatian's master. In the same way, no Buddhist book earlier than the Christian era and outside the Canon betrays the complete existence of the latter so plainly as do the *Question of King Milindo*. Then again, by the time of this work, there were several Diatessarons, such as the *Lalita Vistara* which, however, may be better compared to an apocryphal Gospel based on canonical ones. *Milindo's* quotations from the Pāli texts are numerous, explicit and exact. Moreover, this work of an unknown Buddhist Father, besides mentioning those versed in the Dialogues, versed in the Discipline and versed in the Higher Doctrine, speaks also of reciters of the Birth-Stories and of each of the Five Nikāyos (collections of Dialogues).

In the period between the committal to writing, about 40 B. C., and the Christian era, we have an interesting side-light thrown upon the transmission of the sacred books in Ceylon by the following passage in the *History of the Religion* (*Sāsana-vaṃso*), a Burmese work of the nineteenth century, founded on older sources:—"Thereafter, in the time of the king named Nāgo the Robber, when the whole of Ceylon was vexed by the fear of bad monks, the monks who kept up (literally, *carried*) the Three Baskets, went to India. Those monks who did not go thither, but stayed at home, being vexed by fear of famine, tightened their waist-bands, encased their bellies in sand, and kept up the Three Baskets."

"Then, in the time of King Kuṭakaṇṇatisso, when the fear of bad monks was appeased, the monks came back from India, and, together with the monks who had stayed in Ceylon, they reconciled the Three Baskets with the [recension of the] Great Minister; and when [the two] were made harmonious, they established them. Then, when they were established, they kept them up well in Ceylon only."

In the book of Discipline there is a document which I will call the Council Appendix. It is found in English at page 370 of Vol. XX. of the *Sacred Books of the East*. Now this Appendix knows of the Second Council of the Order one hundred years after the Great Decease, but not of the Third Council in the time of Asoko. Moreover, it knows of only two divisions of the

canon, viz., Doctrine and Discipline, but not of the third, viz., Higher Doctrine. Now, the last was among the *Antilegomena*,[16] of the Second Council, while, as we have seen, an entire treatise was added to it in the time of Asoko. These facts argue a later date for the Higher Doctrine and an early date for the Council Appendix, which knows nothing about it. The Appendix represents that the Canon was fixed after the death of Gotamo by learned monks who knew certain portions by heart. To those who doubt whether any body of doctrine could be as safely transmitted by schools of reciters as by the texts of conflicting manuscripts, I commend the perusal of Max Müller's remarks on the memories of Oriental and primitive peoples in his *History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*. The Pāli texts inform us that Gotamo's discourses and rules of discipline were learnt by heart and chanted in chorus by his immediate disciples, during his long ministry of five and forty years.[17] The Council Appendix confirms the numerous statemens in the older texts by representing that Gotamo's intimate attendant, Ānando, was the great authority for the Dialogues, and Upāli his master of the Discipline. The monks who fixed the Canon under their instruction were careful to "*revise corruptions of the text*."[18]

The mention of a Greek kingdom in Sutta 93 of the Middling Collection does not prove any more than that certain dialogues, *in their present literary form*, must be later than Alexander, or even than the founding of the Græco-Bactrian empire about 250 B. C. Now the latter is the age of Asoko, whose Panjāb Edict uses the precise name (Yona-Kambojo) found in the Middling Collection, which has the longer form (Yonaka-Kambojo) [18a]. We have already seen that the Statement of Theses was first published at Asoko's Council, and the sacred lore in general was doubtless edited in the same age, as it was also re-edited in Ceylon in the fifth century after Christ;[19] but

(16) *Antilegomena*, i.e. books in dispute, is an early Christian name for seven books in the New Testament whose canonicity was debated for three hundred years: Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude and Revelation. We here apply the term to Buddhist books.

(17) See, for example, S.B.E. XIII., p. 305; XX., p. 6.

(18) So I translate the words: *Khaṇḍaphullaṃ paṭisaṅkhariṃsu*, which Davids and Oldenberg render: "repaired dilapidation." (S.B.E. XX, p. 373.) Childers gives an example of the use of the former word which associates it with Scriptural or textual integrity. (18a) 餘尼 and 餘泮 (伐六 84 b).

(19) Great Chronicle, reign of Dhātuseno: "Like Asoko the Righteous, he made a recension of the Three Baskets."

this does not upset the high antiquity of the ancient nuclei of the Canon. Copleston has gone too far in relegating the Book of the Great Decease to the age of Asoko on account of the mention of an Emperor (*Cakkavatti*) and of topes. But the idea of an Indian Emperor by no means began with Asoko or even with Candagutto, but goes back to the Great Epic, and to the earlier parts of it at that. The *Dharmarājā*, or king by right, is an ancient ideal of suzerainty over all India. Then, as to the topes, we know from the Divyāvadāna that, while Asoko built temples to mark sacred sites, yet rudimentary mounds or topes existed already.

From the first Christian century onward a stream of missionaries and translators went from India to China, where they rendered the sacred writings into Chinese. At first the new Mahāyāna works, then in the ascendant, were the favorites for translation; but in A. D. 149 a Parthian prince, probably the son of Vologeses II, who died that year, renounced his kingdom, turned Buddhist, and went to China, where he translated Hīnayāna works. Ancient catalogues credit to him 176 distinct translations, whereof fifty-five are extant. Of these fifty-five, forty-three are Hīnayāna.[20] If we could have these books in a European language and compare them with the Pāli, much light would be thrown on the history of the text, for several of his versions are identical with Pāli Suttas. Masahar Anesaki is now engaged upon this important work.

Much work has yet to bo done in critical analysis of the Buddhist books. Our knowledge of them is behind the knowledge of the New Testament at the end of the eighteenth century. After a hundred years of hard work by Pāli scholars, Chinese, Tibetan and Singhalese scholars, we may hope to arrive at a scientific understanding of the Buddhist Holy Writ such as we are now arriving at as regards the Christian. One of the first things to be done will be to tabulate all passages which the different recensions have in common. This work was begun by Burnouf in 1852, when his hand was arrested by death.[21] He was showing that certain fundamental statements about the life and powers of Gotamo were found in verbal agreement (except for dialectical differences) in Pāli MSS. from

(20) Nanjio: Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka: Oxford, 1883, Appendix II.; Beal: Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 7.

(21) **Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi.** Paris, 1852, p. 859.

Ceylon and Sanskrit ones from Nepāl. These MSS. represented entirely different literary works, and yet every now and then both literatures would contain certain passages identically the same. Now, the Tibetans tell us that four rival schools and their subordinate sects recited the Confessional in four different languages, viz., Sanskrit and three dialects.[22] We know from the Ceylon sects named under the last of these four schools that their dialect was the Pāli. Now, when we consider that the Pāli and Sanskrit recensions have been transmitted by rival sects, their fundamental agreements must go back to an antiquity behind both. We will give here in English the first of Burnouf's parallel texts.[23]

"A glorious report like this has gone abroad: They say he is indeed the Blessed, Holy and absolute Enlightened One, endowed with wisdom and conduct, auspicious, knowing the universe, an incomparable charioteer of men who are tamed, the Master of angels and mortals, the Blessed Buddha. What he has realized by his own supernal knowledge, he publishes to this universe, with its angels, its fiends and its archangels, and to the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples. He preaches his religion, glorious in its origin, glorious at its climax, and glorious in its end, in the spirit and the letter. He proclaims a religious life wholly perfect and thoroughly pure."

Now, this passage, like all Burnouf's parallels, occurs not once, but many times, in the Pāli Canon. Indeed it will probably be found that all Pāli doublets are fundamental primitive documents. Such are certainly the legends of the nativity, as I have pointed out before.[24] The best way, therefore, to begin our proposed tabulation of parallel passages in different recensions will be first to draw up a list of Pāli stock passages; then call upon the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan scholars to furnish the corresponding ones in their respective versions. When it is proven that the sects who have transmitted these passages have lived apart and used different languages since the first or second century of Buddhism,[25] we

(22) Burnouf: **Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien.** Ed. 1876, p. 397.

(23) Burnout cites it from the Long Collection, but it also occurs in the Book of Discipline, where it will be found at least twice in English. (*Mahā-vagga I.* 22, and VI. 31. S. B. E. XIII. and XVII.) *cf* 現身佛と法身佛 pp. 64-65.

(24) Open Court: Chicago, June, 1899.

(25) I. e. the fourth and third centuries before Christ.

shall then be able to compile with certainty the original New Testament of Gotamo.[26]

Place of the Nativity Suttas in the Canon.

As these accounts have hitherto been suspected of lateness, a special inquiry shall be made regarding their antiquity. The first of them, the *Nālaka Sutta*, is the eleventh out of twelve discourses, constituting the Great Section of the Sutta-Nipāto, which has been declared by two such eminent Pāli scholars as Oldenberg and Fausböll[27] to be one of the most archaic in the Canon. So ancient is it that a commentary on the second part of it is included among the canonical books, and so far back as the second century after the demise of Gotamo, we find its canonicity called in question by a powerful party at the Council of Vesāli.[28] Unfortunately this commentary (*the Niddeso*) does not begin until the third dialogue after the Nālaka, so that it does not support the text of the latter. But the Nālaka Sutta is quoted in *The Questions of King Milindo*, while its story is used in the Jātaka commentary and in early patristic poems like the Buddha-Carita.[29] The Jātaka commentary, in its present form, is not older than the fifth century A. D., but both *Milindo* and the poem of Açvaghosha date from the first or second. The Nālaka Sutta is also mentioned in Buddhaghoso's list of contents of the ancient Nine Members of the Canon—another fifth-century document, based upon antecedents of unknown antiquity. The Nālaka Dialogue is translated in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. X, but the learned Danish translator will not begrudge a new version at the hands of one whose mother-tongue is English.

(26) This section of my work was written and rewritten before seeing Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha* (London, 1899). His valuable preface covers the same ground. The principal point he makes beyond the matter common to both of us, is the use made of the Canon by the *Statement of Theses* in the third century B. C. This early date, however, rests upon traditions which first meet us in the fourth century A. D., and it is consequently contested by Barth and other scholars. We may have to bring down the Higher Doctrine (Abhidhammo) to a latter period.

(27) Oldenberg, **Buddha : Sein Leben** &c. Ed. 2 : Berlin, 1890, p. 223. Ed. 4 : 1903, pp. 234–235. Fausböll S. B. E. Vol. X., part 2, p. XI.

(28) Island Chronicle V. 37.

(29) S. B. E. XLIX., p. 10. Cf 佛所行讚 (藏七 44b–45 a).

Our second Nativity Sutta, the *Dialogue on Wonders and Marvels*, is No. 123 in the Middling Collection, that second of the Sutta Collections which contains 152 of Gotamo's discourses of medium length. Now, No. 61 of this Collection is among the titles engraved by Asoko upon the Bairāt Rock, already noticed, while the whole Collection existed certainly at the time of the Milindo book, judging from the frequent quotations from it, and even at the date of the Council Appendix, which says that Ānando was questioned concerning the Five Collections. But a more specific witness can be called for our particular Nativity Sutta in the sculptures at Bharahat. On Pillar 89 there is pictured the incarnation of Buddha: his mother, lying asleep, is dreaming of the White Elephant descending from heaven to enter her womb. The legend reads:

BHAGAVATO OKRANTI: (*The Descent of the Lord.*)

Now, the oldest sacred authority for the story of this descent from heaven is our present Sutta, while the added detail about the mother's dream of the elephant is uncanonical: it is found in the Jātaka commentary.[30] If the commentary matter is as old as the third century before Christ, *a fortiori* the text is.

The Dialogue on Wonders and Marvels was first translated by me (though not very correctly) in *The Open Court* (Chicago) for August, 1898,[31] with corrective and critical notes in November 1898, and June, 1899. In the latter note I traced quotations from the Nativity Sutta in other parts of the Pāli Canon. The Nativity Suttas, I there said, lie behind the Lalita Vistara and other early poems and commentaries. They probably constituted one of the ancient Nine Members of the Canon called *Marvels*. In the Chinese Āgamas there is an entire section of the Middling Collection with this title, and the sūtra (未曾有法經) that opens it is this very Nativity legend. (No. 32 = Pāli 123.)

Together with the Sambodhi, the First Sermon, the Chain of Causations, the Confessional, the Antinomies of the sophists, and the Book of the Great Decease, the Nativity legends rank among those prime documents of the religion around which all recensions rally.

(30) Warren: *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 43.

(31) To the details given of previous notices of the Dialogue in English I should have added Rhys Davids' *American Lectures* (1896).

Moreover a longer form of the Dialogue on Wonders and Marvels, is found in the Long Collection, No. 14 (No. 1 in the Chinese, 大本經). The portion relating to the Nativity agrees nearly verbatim with its companion of the Middling Collection. The slight variants, are as Rhys Davids points out in a similar case, the various readings of the school of reciters who transmitted the Long Collection. I have translated this important portion in a separate form.[32]

The Christian Infancy Sections.

Even though there be no demonstrable connection between the Buddhist and Christian Infancy Sections, yet I believe the latter to be cast in the same mould of Asiatic legend.

There has been such long communication, by migration, conquest, commerce and philosophy, among the peoples of hither Asia, from the Bosphorus to the Indus, that they may be said to have a world of ideas in common. Josephus hit upon a profound historical truth when he made the Nile and the Ganges the two extreme rivers of Paradise: the region between them has been the cradle of the oldest and greatest religions, and may be called the Holy Land of the human race.[33]

The primitive Gospel tradition begins with the preaching of John the Baptist (Acts I. 22.) This is the case with Mark, the simplest and most archaic of the Evangelists, and even with John, the latest and most recondite. Mark and John relate no Infancy stories. The Acts and the Epistles contain no references to the Virginal Birth. Luke, after his Infancy Section, begins the true synoptical narrative with an historical introduction (Luke III. 1), very different from his poetical preface, with its loose chronology of the census. Matthew, in the corresponding place, begins with the phrase: "And in those days," after skipping a period of nearly thirty years. Aagain, the length of

(32) *The Marvellous Birth of the Buddhas.* Translated from the Pāli. By Albert J. Edmunds. Philadelphia: McVey, 1899. pp. vii+12; second edition, 1903.

(33) I do not attempt to repeat the well-known analyses which disprove the historicity of the Infancy Sections. They may be found in English in a concise form in Percy Gardner's *Exploratio Evangelica* (London, 1899.) I recommend to every serious reader this true *Eirenicon* and *masterpiece of scientific piety.* See also Encyclopedia Biblica: articles *Mary* and *Nativity.* (London, 1902.)

the Infancy Section (Matthew I.—II., and Luke I.—II.) is out of all proportion to the historical element in the Gospels. One of the striking proofs of the Evangelical veracity is the disproportion between the length of the narrative of the last few weeks of Christ's ministry and the first three years. The Transfiguration, which is placed about a month before the Crucifixion, is related in Luke IX. This means that out of Luke's twenty-two chapters (excluding the Infancy Section) sixteen relate to the Lord's last month, and only six to his three years of service. The proportion in Mark and Matthew is not so great, but it is sufficiently striking (Mark IX : Matth. XVII.). Now, the events of the last month were more vividly remembered because more recent and more startling than the events of the quiet years. It is because the Evangelists were historians, and not romancers, that they related in full what was well authenticated, and in briefer form what was distantly remembered. But the Infancy Sections are out of all proportion to the record of Christ's early years; and, while the main Gospel narrative is supported by frequent allusions in the Acts and Epistles, the Infancy Sections have no such support. One sign of fiction on Luke's part is at I. 70, where he puts into the mouth of Zacharias a saying which is in Acts III. 21 ascribed to Peter at the Gate Beautiful:

> "Whereof God spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets, which have been since the world began."

This is not an Old Testament quotation, and cannot be found in the Apocrypha or the Pseudepigrapha. On the other hand, Luke asserts, in his Prologue, that he had accurately traced the course of all things from the first, and soon afterwards hints of traditions gathered among the Judaean hills. (I. 65.)

Since the discovery of the Sinai Syriac, in 1893, we know that there were two parties in the early Church, whom we may call the Genealogy party and the Virginal Birth party. The former traced the lineage of Jesus through Joseph as his father; the latter, like Tatian in the second century, discarded the Genealogies as useless, and knew of no descent but the heavenly one of John's Prologue.[34] The Sinai Syriac reads:

> "Joseph begat Jesus,"

(34) Compare the Eusebian Canons, which collocate John's Prologue with the Genealogies.

which was doubtless the original reading of the Genealogy. That the Genealogies were separate documents from the Infancy Sections is evidenced from the fact that, while Matthew's Genealogy table is prefixed to the Infancy narrative, Luke's is outside of it. Moreover, a number of ancient British manuscripts make Mattew's Genealogy a preface standing by itself, and place after it the words:

Finit Prologus. Incipit Evangelium.[35]

Marcion, the Gnostic of the second century, who revised the Gospel of Luke to suit himself, omitted both the Infancy Section and the Genealogy. He also went further, and omitted the accounts of the Baptism and Temptation, the Prodigal Son and the Triumphal Entry, as well as shorter pieces, among them apparently the single line on the Ascension.[36] Scholars have decided that most of these excisions were arbitrary; but as he professed to base his revision upon Luke's first edition, and as an earlier edition of Luke has been suspected by modern critics on textual grounds, it is likely that some of his omission go back to that edition. Moreover, it is significant that this principal excisions are passages which have affinities with the Old Testament and other sacred books, including the Buddhist.

The Harmony of Tatian, dating a quarter of a century later than Marcion, while weaving together the narratives of Matthew and Luke, found no place for the Genealogies, but retained the Infancy Section. Now, according to Epiphanius,[37] the Encratites, who favored virginity, following James the Lord's brother, had books that were written by old men and maidens, and it was doubtless among these votaries that the Virginal Birth found credit. They of course repudiated the descent through Joseph, and therefore discarded the "endless genealogies," many more of which were once probably extant, besides the two that have come down to us.

The genealogies were derived, says Julius Africanus, from the kinsmen of the Lord.[38] By this we need not understand

(35) Westcott, article *Vulgate*, in Smith's Bib. Dic. See also Hug and Scrivener.

(36) My authorities are Westcott and Sanday. Critics are not agreed about some omissions, but those mentioned, excepting the Ascension, are admitted by all.

(37) Hær. XXX. 2.

(38) Eusebius, H. E. I. 7.

James the Lord's brother and his compeers, but a later generation, such as those who stood before Domitian and shewed him the toil-worn hardness of their hands. Among these people, Jesus was simply the son of Joseph, as in the Gospel of John.[39] Such was the state of affairs until the first quarter of the second century, when the Gospel was finally edited. Even Justin, however, in the middle of the century, recognizes the existence of the party who rejected the Virginal Birth. The opposite party however, gained the upper hand, but conciliated the Genealogy party by incorporating the favorite documents of the latter, together with their own opposing ones. In doing this they omitted the ascription of paternity to Joseph, thus causing commentators endless trouble to account for the fact that both lists are traced through him, and not through Mary. This method of conciliation by juxtaposing contradictory accounts is eminently Oriental, and I have elsewhere given an example of it from the Chronicles of Ceylon.[40] Paul evidently belonged to the Genealogy party (Romans 1. 3); but whoever wrote the Pastoral Epistles (perhaps Paul himself when older, at least in part) was tired of the controversy and was impatient of "endless genealogies" and "old wives' fables." (1 Timothy I. 4; IV. 7; Titus III. 9.) I cannot help regarding these phrases as pointed allusions to the controversy in question rather than to the Gnostic Æons and mythology.

The first Church Father who quotes the Infancy legend is Ignatius, in the first quarter of the second century. In the same century the heretic Symmachus wrote a refutation of the story, which is lost. Of its early origin, however, there is no doubt, for the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts, which omit the Mark Appendix, added by Ariston, the contemporary of Ignatius, include the Infancy Sections as integral portions of Matthew and Luke. If the doctrine of the Virginal Birth has any New Testament basis at all, it must be sought for, not in the legendary preface prefixed to Matthew's Gospel, nor in the more artistic one composed by the non-apostolic Luke, but in the words of the Evangelist John, who took Mary to his own home, and knew the fact, if any one did. In John I. 13, two ancient Latin MSS. and three early Fathers (Justin Martyr, Irenæus and Tertullian) agree in the use of the singular number instead

(39) John VII. 5.

(40) In an article in **The New Christianity**, Ithaca, N. Y., July, 1898.

of the plural, thus making that verse a direct attestation of the Virginal Birth:

> "Who was born, not of bloods, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."(41)

Even if we read the plural, as the manuscript evidence requires, there still lies in the background of the metaphor the idea of a virginal nativity. Given the Divinity of Christ, in a supernatural sense, and the doctrine of such a nativity falls logically into place. Believers may be spiritually born as of virginal conception, but their Lord was physically so. And we have the warrant of Paul that no man can say Jesus is Lord except in the Holy Spirit (I Cor. XII. 3.) In short, the doctrine of the supernatural Nativity is a matter of faith alone, as Canon Gore has maintained, and it has no support from the science of historical criticism.(42)

Since writing the above, some years ago, I have come to agree with the Prussian Church Council of 1846, that the Virginal Birth is no necessary part of Christian belief. I leave the above sentiment as it stands, however, that the reader may see that my attitude has been conservative, and that I have only been driven from it by facts. A fact which has had much weight is the following document, which I extract from in its chief points. It is an old Syriac chronicle, which makes three things probable:

1. The Virginal Birth story was still in process of formation in the year A. D. 119.

2. Its origin was Zoroastrian.

3. In its pre-canonical form it is quoted by Ignatius of Antioch, who is the first Christian writer, outside the Infancy Sections of Matthew and Luke, to quote it at all. And he quoted it in the same decade as that indicated by the Chronicle as the time of the legend's redaction, and by Eusebius as the

(41) I wrote this before seeing Resch's **Kindheitsevangelium** (Leipzig, 1897)

(42) Before the appearance of Gore's **Dissertations on the Incarnation** (1895), I had spent some years in a study of the Infancy Sections, and had written an essay which arrived at his conclusions, that is, a belief in the Virginal Birth as a corollary to the Resurrection, but not on any historical ground. I cannot here enter into the side-issue since raised by Ramsay. The futility of basing the Divinity of Christ upon the Virginal Birth is patent from the fact that Mohammed admitted the latter, but fiercely denied the former (Korân, caps. III, V, XIX.)

period when the Gospels themselves were edited.[43] It was also the period of Aristion, who wrote the Mark Appendix, so that the New Testament was still in a plastic state.

Concerning the Star; showing how and through what the Magi recognized the Star, and that Joseph did not take Mary as his wife.[44]

I will write and inform thee, our dear brother, concerning the righteous of old, and concerning the handing down of the histories of their deeds: and how, and through what, the Magi recognized the Star, and came and worshipped our Lord with their offerings; partly from the Holy Scriptures, and partly as we have found in the true chronicles, which were written and composed by men of old in various cities.....

And as many things, which Moses also neglected, are found in chronicles that were written and laid up, so too the history of the Star which the Magi saw, was found in a chronicle which was written and laid up in Arnon, the border of the Moabites and Ammonites.[45] And this history was taken from the place in which it was written, and was conveyed away and deposited in the fortress of Ecbatana, which is in Persia.....

All these kings of the Assyrians, from the days of Moses to Cyrus the Persian, were on their guard and watching to see when the word of Balaam would be fulfilled and when the legions of the Chittites would issue forth from the land of the Macedonians; and how would be devastated the lands and regions of all Asia, and the city of Ephesus, and the districts of Pontus, and Galatia, and Cilicia, and all Syria, and the spacious country of Mesopotamia and of all the Parthians; and (how) they would pass on to Nineveh, the city of Nimrod, the

(43) Eusebius, H. E. III. 37.

(44) Translated from the Syriac by William Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*: London, October, 1866. The manuscript of this chronicle is placed at the sixth century, and the text, being ascribed to Eusebius, probably emanates from a writer of the fourth. This remarkable document was pointed out to me by Rendel Harris, to whom in turn it had been pointed out by Nestle. Neither of them, however, is responsible for the critical use I have made of it, though I believe Nestle has written something about it which has not yet found its way to Philadelphia.

(45) The association of the Chronicle with the country beyond Jordan connects it with the Essenes or other sects influenced by the farther East; while the association with Persia connects it with Mazdeism.

first of all mighty men, and would wage war violently with the Assyrians, and conquer them and subdue them.

And when the Persians saw that the word of Balaam had turned out true and become a fact, they were also specially concerned to see when the Star would arise and become visible, about which he spoke, meditating what might perchance happen at its rising, and whence it would appear, and concerning whom it would testify.

And after this Darius, whom Alexander the king of the Greeks slew, there arose King Arsun, in whose days cities were increased in their buildings in the land of Syria.[46]

And from (L) ISCUS to king PIRSHBUR (Pîr-Shabûr?) in whose days Augustus Cæsar reigned over the Roman Empire. And in his days was the glorious manifestation of our adored Saviour. And therefore in the days of this PIRSHBUR, who was called ZMRNS, there appeared the Star, both transformed in its aspect, and also conspicuous by its rays, and terrible and grand in the glorious extent of its light. *And it overpowered by its aspect all the stars that were in the heavens*,[47] as it inclined to the depth, to teach that its Lord had come down to the depth, and ascended again to the height of its nature, to show that its Lord was God in His nature.

And when the Persians saw it, they were alarmed and afraid, and there fell upon them agitation and trembling, and fear got the mastery over them. And it was visible to the inner depths of the East alone; and the Persians and the Hūzites, and the other peoples that were around them, knew that this was what Balaam had foretold. And this apparition and news flew through the whole East: "The king of Persia is preparing splendid offerings and gifts and presents, and is sending them by the hands of the Magi, the worshippers of fire." And because the king did not know where the Messiah was born, he commanded the bearers of the offerings, (saying): "Keep going towards the Star, and walking on the road along which

(46) This refers to the founding, or restoring, of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, Edessa, Beroea, and Pella, by Seleucus Nicator. (Note by Wright)

(47) Ignatius of Antioch, in his reference to the star, agrees with this passage, and not with Matthew. The story is Talmudic; so also is the hinding of the infant from the wrath of a tyrant, who slays a slave-child, believing it to be the dreaded rival. The infant is kept in a cave until he is ten years old. (**The Talmud: Selections.** By H. Polano. Philadelphia, 1876. p. 30.)

it runs before you: and by day and night keep observing its light."

And when they set forth with the sun from their country, in which this sun (of ours) is born every day, the Star too with its rays was running on before them, accompanying them and going with them, and becoming as it were an attendant of theirs. And they halted in many places, passing by large fortified towns, and (through) various foreign tongues and different garbs, that were unlike to one another. And they halted outside of the cities, and not inside of the cities, until they reached the gates of Jerusalem, over which the Star stood still, entering and alarming Jerusalem and its inhabitants, and terrifying also the kings and priests.

And when they had entered within the gates of the city, it was concealed from them. And when the Magi saw that neither the kings, nor the priests, nor the chiefs of the people perceived the coming of the Messiah, and the Star was concealed, they knew that, because they were not worthy, they did not perceive the birth of the Son, nor were they worthy to behold the Star.

And when the Magi saw that the Star was hidden from them, they went forth by night from the city; and at that very moment the Star appeared unto them; and they went after the apparition of it, until it descended and stood still over the cave of Bethlehem, where was born the Messiah. And in that hour they opened their treasures, and offered unto Him many presents and gifts of offerings, bowing down in adoration before the Messiah, that their offerings might be accepted, and that they might be delivered from the hateful treachery which they had seen in Jerusalem, and might reach their own country without fear, and might carry back word to those who had sent them of what they had seen and heard.

And when they had made their offerings, and passed the night there, the Star too stopped with them above *the cave*.[48] And when they rose early in the morning to set out for their country, it was for the second time running on and going before them on the way, which was different from the

(48) The Nativity in the cave is a well-known uncanonical tradition; while the mention of "a foreign country and of a barbarous tongue" hardly comports with Egypt, which was so familiar to the Syrians.

former one; and until they had entered their city, it did not quit them, nor was it concealed as on the former occasion.

And when they had entered into the presence of the king who had sent them, they narrated to him all that they had heard and seen. These things too were written down there in inner Persia, and were stored up among the records of the deeds of their kings, where was written and stored up the history of the legions of the Chittites and the account of this Star, that they might be preserved where were preserved the histories of the ancients.

But Joseph and Mary, when they saw treachery of King Herod and the envy of the Scribes and Pharisees, arose and took the Child, and *went to a foreign country and of a barbarous tongue;* and there they dwelt for the space of four years, during which Herod continued to reign after (their flight). And at the commencement of the reign of Herod's son, they arose and went up from that land, to the country of Galilee, Joseph and Mary, and our Lord along with them, and the five sons of Hanna (Anna), the first wife of Joseph. But Mary and our Lord were dwelling together in the house in which Mary received the Annunciation from the holy Angel .....[49] and eleven, in the second year of the coming of our Saviour, in the consulship of Cæsar and Capito, in the month of the latter Kānūn, these Magi came from the East and worshipped our Lord at Bethlehem of the kings. And in the year four hundred and thirty (A. D. 119), in the reign of Hadrianus Cæsar, in the consulship of Severus and of Fulgus, in the episcopate of Xystus, bishop of the city of Rome, this concern arose in (the minds of) men acquainted with the Holy Books; and through the pains of the great men[50] in various places this history was sought for and found, and written in the tongue of those who took this care.

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(49) Here some sixteen or seventeen lines of the Syriac text have been purposely erased, probably on account of some statement which a later reader considered heretical. (Note by Wright)

(50) My friend, Henry L. Gilbert, Ph.D., Rector of Caldwell, N. Y., tells me that the Syriac word, translated "great men", means magnates or grandees. [This promising scholar was taken from us in June, 1904. His essay on Hebrew Proper Names is quoted in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.]

Here ends the Discourse on the Star, which was composed by Mār Eusebius of Cæsarea.

With this account compare the following from Ignatius, who was martyred about 118, a year before the redaction of the legend. As this was the work of the magnates or leaders of the church, Ignatius would be one of the compilers; and it is therefore very significant that he is the first to allude to it.

Ignatius, Epistle to the Ephesians, Cap. 19.

Hidden from the prince of this age were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing and likewise also the death of the Lord—three mysteries to be shouted—the which were done in the quietness of God. How then were they manifested unto the ages? A star shone in heaven above all the stars; and its light was unspeakable, and its newness brought amazement; and all the rest of the stars together, with sun and moon, became a chorus to the star; but itself was transcendent in its light beyond them all; and there was trouble to know whence (came) the newness which was unlike them. From that time every sorcery and every bond was dissolved; the ignorance of wickedness vanished away; the old kingdom was pulled down, when God appeared human-wise unto newness of everlasting life; and that which had been perfected with God took a beginning. Thence all things were stirred up, because there was meditated the destruction of death.

The Arabic Infancy Gospel expressly connects the visit of the Magi with a prophecy of Zoroaster. Modern scholars are gradually accepting the view that *Pharisee=Parsee*. This means that the Pharisees, with their doctrine of angels and a future life, were the Persianizing party in the Jewish church, whom the conservative Sadducees opposed. As no *developed* eschatology appears in the Pentateuch, which was the sole canon of the latter, they regarded the eschatology of Daniel, Enoch and Tobit as foreign. And they were right. The Talmud tells that the Jews brought the names of the angels from Babylon. In the pre-exilian book of Samuel, Jehovah tempts David to number Israel; whereas in the post-exilian Chronicles, the tempter is Satan: Ahriman had entered into Hebrew conceptions during the two hundred years that Palestine was a Persian province. At the time of the Apostles, the presence of Parthians at the

feast of Pentecost, the prevalence of Mithraism in the Roman Empire, and the Mazdean influences in the new religion of Elkesai, all point to a continuance of connection between Hebrew and Parsi thought.[51]

In some respects the Christian legend comes nearer to the Mazdean than to the Buddhist. This is especially seen in the Temptation story, so closely connected with the hero-legends of Christ's Nativity and early life. Like Jesus, Zoroaster repulses the Evil One by quoting Scripture; like him, too, he is offered worldly empire to renounce his spiritual cares. The Avesta says:

"Renounce the good law of the worshippers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as the murderer gained, the ruler of the nations." The Pahlavi texts have:[52]

"It is declared (i.e. in a lost Nosk of the Avesta) that Ahriman shouted to Zoroaster thus: 'If thou desist from this good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, then I will give thee a thousand years' dominion of the worldly existence, as was given to the Vaḍakān monarch, Dahāk.'"

The idea of repulsing Māro with Scripture would be un-Buddhistic: Gotamo vaunted that he was independent of the Vedas.

In the Nativity, again, the theistic Mazdean is naturally nearer to the theistic Christian than to the Buddhist. A ray of the Divine Glory (Hvareno) enters the mother of Zoroaster, just as the Holy Ghost overshadows Mary. The Buddhist doctrine of Gandharvas operating at birth applies to every one, and makes all birth supernatural. Moreover, in the Pāli Suttas, there is no virginal birth for Buddha, but only a marvellous one. It is when we get to the later Lalita Vistara that the mother abstains from intercourse for thirty-two months, so that the ten months' gestation cannot have been human.[53]

As I hinted in my note of 1898,[54] the oriental practice of abstinence during the gestation may be at the root of the whole doctrine of a virginal birth.

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(51) In Epiph. XIX. 2, the brother of Elkesai is indebted to a Levite from Susa, who had worshipped Artemis and fled from the wrath of Darius.

(52) S. B. E. XXIV, p. 103.

(53) Cf. Virgil, Eclogue 4; Suetonius, Augustus 94.

Suetonius wrote in the twenties of the first century. His Augustan birth-story has points of agreement with Matthew, Dīgha 14, and the Mazdean marvels. In speaking of the Lilita Vistara, I take it as it stands, without regard to statements in other Buddhist books. But see note to § No. 6 in the Nativity Sutta.

(54) *Open Court:* August 1898, p. 488.

In fact, in the primitive Buddhism of the Pāli texts, there are two germs of the legend:

1. Abstinence during gestation.
2. The *gandharva* mythology.

The second element appears in the Middling Collection, Dialogue No. 38, and is translated in our present work. According to this idea, every human being is born by that conjunction of a spirit called a *gandharva* with the parents at that time of conception. It is possibly at the root of Luke's story about the Holy Ghost overshadowing Mary. I shall show later on that, while Matthew's Infancy Section has a Mazdean basis, Luke's may have a Buddhist one. We have seen that Ignatius of Antioch was the first to quote the Matthæan legend, and that he quoted it in its pre-canonical form. The first writer to quote its canonical form is Justin Martyr, and even he has such uncanonical details as the birth in a cave, the Magi coming from Arabia, and Herod as "King of the Assyrians."

Basilides, who comes chronologially between Ignatius and Justin, alludes to the Magi and the star; but we cannot be certain that he is using the canonical source: his reference is too brief. He also is the first to quote the Infancy legend of Luke.

Harnack thinks that the Virginal Birth was based upon a misunderstanding of Isaiah VII. 14: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son."[55] It is well known that the Hebrew word here is not *virgin*, but *young woman*. And yet the Septuagint has *παρθενος*. May not this rendering have been due to a knowledge of the Zoroastrian myth about the Saviour-bearing maidens? Harnack admits that Jewish Apocalypses were full of Babylonian and Persian mythology, and that the early Christians accepted them, while he insists that the Christian Nativity legend was home-born.[56] But it is highly probable that the mysterious Lawgiver of the Essenes (Josephus, Wars II. viii. 9.) was Zoroaster, and not Moses, and that through both Essenes and Pharisees (=Parsees) the Judaism of the time of Christ had been tinged with Mazdean thought.

(55) Harnack: History of Dogma (English translation, London, 1894, Vol. I, p. 100.)

(56) "Early Christianity was free from Gentile myths', says he, '(so far as these had not already been received by wide circles of Jews (above all, certain Babylonian and Persian myths.)" For a remarkable proof from the Talmud of Persian eschatology reaching Palestine, see the note to our Parallel entitled: "The Great Restoration," No. 67 infra.

The question of Luke's use of the Buddhist Infancy legend is part of the larger one of his use of the Buddhist Canon, and will be discussed below. In his anxiety to adapt the Gospel to all nations, he probably took from that source his stories of the Angelic Heralds and the Prophecy of Simeon; and possibly also the Charge to the Seventy and the central idea of the Penitent Thief.

The Possibility of Connection between Christianity and Buddhism.

At the time of Christ, the religion of Buddha was the most powerful on the planet. It was still making new conquests, and was filled with the missionary spirit. Its only real rival as a world-power, was Mazdeism, which, though active in the cult of Mithras, was already on the wane. In the Parthian Empire, Buddhism and Mazdeism met, but the history of their intercourse is obscure. Our present business is to enquire into possible intercourse between Buddhism and Christianity.

While the progress of knowledge is, on the one hand, deepening our consciousness of the solidarity of human thought, and forbidding us to set up the cry of borrowing when two legends—a Hindū and an Aztec are alike—on the other hand, it is teaching us how widespread was the intercourse of the ancients; how persistently they took and gave ideas; and how eagerly they recognized in a foreign divinity the features of their own. To steer between these two opposing currents is not always easy, but our principle should be to regard nothing as borrowed unless proven by express reference, by identity of text, or sequence of narrative, accompanied with demonstrable intercourse.

Until Robert Clive inaugurated the new era of cosmic relations in 1757[57] by giving India to the English, the greatest name in this respect was ALEXANDER. Among his memoranda, says the Sicilian Diodorus, were several public schemes, such as the construction of a road through Northern Africa but none were so magnificient as this:—

(57) Swedenborg was a true prophet when he proclaimed that this remarkable year was the hinge of an æon. He could not have said this by mere political calculation, for the news of the battle of Plassey in June, 1757 did not reach Europe until early in 1758. Before that time the seer of Stockholm had had the vision whereon he based his statement.

"(He decreed) that there should be interchanges between cities, and that people should be transferred out of Asia into Europe, and conversely out of Europe into Asia, to the end that the two great continents, by intermarriages and exchange of good offices, might become homogeneous and established in mutual friendship."[58]

The literal execution of this plan was hindered by the great Captain's death, but in spirit it was amply carried out in his city at the mouths of the Nile. Until the translation of the Sacred Books of the East into English in the nineteenth century, nowhere was there developed so active an intercourse between the mind of Europe and the soul of Asia as in the city of Alexandria, from the translation of the Pentateuch in the third century before Christ to the commentaries of Origen in the third century after him. This was made possible by the founding of Myos Hormos on the Red Sea and Charax at the mouth of the Euphrates. The former carried the trade of India to Alexandria; the latter, to Damascus. It was at Charax that the Jewish merchant converted the exiled Izates to the religion of his fathers;[59] and this is only a stray example of what must have gone on continually in these cosmopolitan marts.

Then, also, Alexander took with him to India three thousand Greek artists and actors who laid the foundation of a long intellectual connection between Hellenist and Hindū culture.[60] Hilgenfeld has pointed out that Alexandria is mentioned in the Great Chronicle of Ceylon as sending Buddhist monks to attend a ceremony in that island in the second century before Christ. Lightfoot combated this view in his essay on the Essenes, and identified the Alexandria with Alexandria ad Caucasus. Rhys Davids, too, in his *Milindo*, identifies the one there mentioned with the Panjāb Alexandria.[60 a] But Sylvain Lévi considers both Milindo's city and the one of the Great Chronicle to be the Egyptian capital, pointed out that the Hindū astronomers always call the latter "the city of the Greeks," which is the term of the Chronicle.[61] The associated places in the Chronicle are mostly in India, but Pallavabhāge is Parthia.

(58) Diodorus Siculus xviii. 4.

(59) Josephus, Antiquities XX. ii. 3.

(60) Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* 72. Τεχνῖται means artificers, but includes actors and artists. Plutarch only gets them as far as Ecbatana, but doubtless many went to India: they certainly did later on. (60 a) 阿荔散(藏八 63 b).

(61) Revue de l'Histoire des Religions: Paris, 1891.

Aristotle was the contemporary and tutor of Alexander, and died within a year of him. He conversed with a Jew in Asia, who came from the region of Damascus, and belonged to a sect in that country that was derived from the Hindū philosophers.[62] This man, said Aristotle, gave him and his companions more information than they imparted in return. Now, as Gotamo had given a missionary charge, there is no reason why his monks should not have gone to Syria, even before the mission of Asoko in the century after Alexander. If they did, an historical crux might be solved: the origin of the Essenes. But to this we shall return.

The successors of Alexander were animated by his spirits: Seleucus of Antioch sent Megasthenes as ambassador to the court of Patnā, and bade him write a description of India, while Ptolemy of Alexandria despatched Dionysius with the same intent.[63] The court of Antioch patronized Berosus,[64] who translated the sacred records of the Chaldeans, while the court of Alexandria founded the library and began to translate the Old Testament. The description of India which Megasthenes produced became the great authority of the West until after the Christian era. Candragupta, the king to whom he went, was the grandfather of Asoko. Bindusāro (or Amitraghāta) who came between them, kept up the interest of his sire, by sending to Antioch for a sophist.[65] The immortal Asoko set his crown upon this intercourse by introducing the religion of Gotamo to the notice of the Hellenist kings. We have already marvelled that these monarchs, Greek and Hindū, who were stretching out their hands towards each other, should have left no further record of their intercourse. The Hindū was anxious to spread a knowledge of his sacred lore, and the Hellenist was anxious to translate it. We shall presently see the reason of the silence.

Passing from the third century before Christ into the second, we come to Alexander Polyhistor, a writer of Asia Minor. In a passage preserved to us by Cyril of Alexandria, this author

(62) Josephus, *Against Apion*, I. 22. Clearchus of Soli, the authority here, considered the Jews themselves as of Hiṇdū origin; but allowing for this exaggeration, the fact underneath it probably is, that a certain sect had such an origin.

(63) Pliny, Nat. Hist. VI. 21.

(64) Tatian, *To the Greeks*, cap. 36.

(65) Athenæus *Deipnosoph.* XIV. 67. Bindusāro wanted to buy a sophist, but was refused.

shews a knowledge of Buddhism in Bactria, calling the religious men there by the well-known name of *Samaṇas*. In a passage of Clement of Alexandria,[66] Polyhistor's work on India is also quoted, and in the immediate context Clement describes the naked ascetics who venerate the truth (i.e. *Dhamma*). These were the Jains or other like sects, but not Buddhists. Clement goes on to describe the pyramidal topes, which contained the bones of a God. These were probably Buddhist. *Samaṇas* (σεμνοι) may be either Buddhists, Jains or other non-Brāhmin sects. In the second century before Christ, we also meet with Hindū mahouts on the elephants of the Syrian army. (1 Macc. VI. 37).

In the same century (about B. C. 110) the Greek king Menander (in Pāli Milindo) who reigned in the Panjāb, had a celebrated discussion with the Buddhist sage Nāgaseno, preserved to us in *The Questions of King Milindo*,[66 a] translated in the *Sacred Books of the East*. This great work of Buddhist patristics (the Buddhist Irenæus we may call it; for just as the New Testament is first immanent in the pages of Irenæus, so are the Pāli Piṭakas in the pages of *Milindo*)—this work shows us that Hindū philosophy, both Buddhist and Brahmin, was inquired into by intelligent Greeks. It shows us that schools of reciters, at the time of Christ, were keeping up the Pāli Canon.[67] Each Collection of the Dialogues had its own professors, who knew it by heart. There were also special reciters of the Jātakas.

Passing now into the first century before Christ, we come to the Indian embassy to Augustus, mentioned by Horace as a recent event in his Ode on the secular games in B. C. 17. A member of this embassy, says Strabo, burnt himself to death in a public place in Athens, and an epitaph was written over his ashes, which called him Zarmanochegas, i.e. *çramaṇācāryas*, "teacher of the philosophers," a name which has been perverted by writers who did not understand Lassen's German transliteration. (I give the recognized European one of to-day). We must remember that the Greek γ=y, not g. Note also that the final-s is the proper nominative ending, though we generally omit it, and write *çramaṇācārya*. As the Buddhists were forbidden to commit suicide, this ascetic perhaps belonged to another Hindū sect. At the same time, Buddhists did commit

(66) Stromata III. 7. (66 a) 那先比丘經 (N. C. No. 1358, 藏八).
(67) Milindo, pp. 341, 342.

suicide, and in spite of the formal prohibition, Gotamo himself condoned the suicide of Godhiko and others, while in the seventh century we find I-Tsing protesting against Buddhists taking their lives and burning their figures. Lightfoot considered that Strabo's hero is alluded to by Paul in 1 Corinthians XIII. 3: "If I give my body to be burned, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing."

We now come to the time of Christ, when Strabo saw a hundred and twenty ships ready to sail from the Red Sea to India.[68] The apostle Thomas, according to Christian tradition, preached to King Gondophares, who reigned on the Indus, and whose coins are still to be seen. Not only so, but coins of all the Roman Emperors, from Augustus to Hadrian, are in the museum at Madras.[69] The Acts of Thomas are therefore not all invention: Gondophares was a real king. Von Gutschmid, in 1864,[70] suggested a connection between the Acts of Thomas and Buddhist missionary tales; but the parallels he drew were rather vague. There is no need to say that the lion of the Thomas-legend is the Lion of the tribe of Sākya, when it may just as well be the Lion of the tribe of Judah. Incited by Rendel Harris, I have searched those acts for more distinct traces of Buddhist influence, and he seems to think I have found some. In a prayer which is present in certain recensions, the Apostle addresses the Holy Spirit by the un-Christian title of "presbyter of the five members," which are:

Intelligence
Thought
Purpose
Reflection
Reasoning

Now, Nos. 1–3 correspond to the first three of the Buddhist *members of wisdom*, which occur so frequently in the Pāli texts.[71] The last two are also Buddhist (*vitakka-vicâro*). The basis of the Acts of Thomas is Christian, and the Buddhist element is subordinate, but it is there. The miracles of the healing are Christian, for, beyond a few cases of mind-cure, I know of none

(68) Geography II. V. 12.

(69) Rae: **Syrian Church in India.** Edin., 1892, p. 22.

(70) Apud Sylvain Lévi: Journal Asiatique, 1897.

(71) E. g., in the Book of the Great Decease. An entire section of the Samyutta Nikāyo is also devoted to them. (Bojjhango, 菩提分).

such in the Pāli Canon. On the other hand, the title, "good Physician," applied to Christ is Buddhist, not Christian. This epithet, which is popular among Christians to this day, is nowhere in the New Testament, but is found in the Buddhist Canon.[72]

Besides the Acts of Thomas there is a Gospel of Thomas. Though neither of these books belong to the first century, wherewith we now are dealing, it is convenient to treat them here, for the sake of their feigned apostolic author and his supposed connection with India. The Gospel of Thomas, like his Acts, contains a probable Buddhist element; for we find therein the same legend as in the Lalita Vistara, how the spiritual hero shewed a knowledge of the alphabet when a master attempted to teach him. This story in both Buddhist and Christian apocrypha (for the Lalita Vistara is a Buddhist *apocryphon*) belongs to the same sphere of folk-lore. If there is borrowing, it is on the Christian side: the Lalita Vistara is a book of Indian antecedents and of Indian development.

In the first century, or perhaps in the second, there reigned in the valley of the Indus the Buddhist emperor Kanishka, whose famous Council did so much to give political prestige to patristic Buddhism. One of this monarch's coins, which has come down to us, actually has on it the image of Buddha, with his name in Greek letters:[73]

BOΔΔO.

Wherever this coin circulated the name of Buddha would be known, and many a Greek may have seen it for the first time thereupon.

In the first century also (the reign of Claudius) the naturalist Pliny met with ambassadors from Ceylon.[74] This embassy arose from the circumstance that a Roman voyager was driven to that island by a storm, and stayed there six months. As he *learnt the language*, he must have gotten to know something about the religion. Now, Pliny understood from his informants that Hercules was worshiped in the island. As the Greeks and the

(72) **Sutta Nipāto** 560; **Itivuttaka** 100. "Imcomparable physician," is the exact phrase. (cf 現身佛と法身佛 pp. 212-213).

(73) Percy Gardner: **Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India:** London, 1886.

(74) Nat. Hist. VI. 24.

Romans always endeavored to express the names of foreign deities by equivalents among their own, Hercules in this case probably means Buddha. Moreover, the Singhalese told the Romans that there were five hundred towns in their island. Now, five hundred is a favorite round number in the Pāli texts, and merely means a goodly quantity. There is no proof that the Ceylon ambassadors were Brahminizing Tamils, as Priaulx and Lightfoot maintained, and that Pliny's Hercules was Rāma. Hercules is both human and divine enough to be an equivalent for Gotamo. The islanders dressed like Arabs, and traded with the Cheras of Southern India ("Seres" being probably a scribal blunder, says Kennedy).

In the latter part of the first century flourished Dion Chrysostom who, in an oration to the Alexandrians, reminded them that in their cosmopolitan city were to be found *Bactrians* and Scythians, Persians and *Hindūs*. He also has a discourse on a Libyan fable. Now, Jacobs has shown that these very Libyan fables were akin to the Hindū, and that a number of them found their way into the Talmud.(75) Their Hindū origin is proved by the fact that, of those found in Hindū, Greek and Hebrew forms, the *Hebrew form agrees with the Hindū against the Greek*. The first of these Talmudic fables which can be dated is the Lion and the Crane, in the Great Commentary on the Pentateuch: it was told by a Rabbi in A. D. 118. Rabbi Meir, in the second century, was the last of the Talmudic fabulists: he knew three hundred "fox-fables." Now, the fables collected by Babrius in the third century from Æsopic and Libyan sources appear to have been three hundred in number. Rabbi Jochanon, in the first century, is said to have known both the fox-fables and the Libyan fables (*Mishle Kobsim*). There is no need to make the Ceylon embassy the channel whereby these stories got into Palestine: there was intercourse enough without that. The discovery of the monsoons, in the middle of the first century, together with the unsettled state of Parthia, increased the Indian trade of Alexandria. In this century or the next was written *The Periplus of the Red Sea*, a manual of Egyptian trade with India; while in the middle of the second century the Georgraphy of Ptolemy shewed a knowledge of Asia, to the confines of the Chinese Empire. At the foot of the Bolor Tagh

(75) Æsop's Fables. Edited by Joseph Jacobs. London, 1889.

Ptolemy marks a trading-post where business was done with the Seræ or Seres.[76]

Who were the Seres? The learned researches of Lassen and Reinaud make it clear that they were the inhabitants of the Chinese Empire. According to these scholars, the name is neither geographical nor ethnological, but commercial, and means *the Silk People*. But the term was used with great latitude, and is also associated with India. In the Jātaka Book there is an Indian country called Seri,[77] while even to-day there is a region and a town of Sirikul in the southern part of Chinese Turkestan, just north of Cashmere. There is also a dialect in Sindh called Siraiki. A mixed caste or people the Sairandhras (also corrupted into Sairindhras) are mentioned by the Hindū geographer Varāha Mihira, of the sixth century A. D. This term apparently means Seres and Andhras, or Seres subject to the Andhra dynasty, which arose in the Dekhan, conquered Magadhā in B. C. 26, and ruled India until A. D. 430.[78] Cunningham places the Sairandhras east and south of the Satlaj, in the modern Sarhind. It is the region where the Satlaj and the Jamna nearly meet.

Now, Fā-hian,[79] in the fifth century, describes an idyllic people, who were governed without capital punishment, were vegetarians and abstainers from wine; and he places them to the south of this region of Sarhind.[80] This is the famous Middle Country of the Brahmins.[81] Onesicritus, a companion of Alexander in the fourth century before Christ, described the Musicani, a similar people.[82] They had gold and silver mines, yet did not use those metals: so also Fā-hian's Middle-Country men used cowries. Now Buddha forbade the use of gold and silver to monks,[83] and if his religion became earnestly adopted

(76) The Seres are mentioned by Virgil (Georgics II. 121) and by Horace. The latter (Carm. I. 12) has "Seras et Indos," thus recognising their difference yet contiguity. For the classical references generally, see Lassen, Vol. I. p. 320.

(77) Jātaka 3. The Telavāha of the Jātaka is probably the Tel., a tributary of the Mahānadī, and still an oil-bearer, as the name implies.

(78) Dutt: Ancient India: London, 1893, p. 118.

(79) Ancient Georgraphy of India: London, 1871.

(80) Fā-hian, Cap. 16. (法顯傳, 玫六 26).

(81) To be carefully distinguished from the Middle Country of the Buddhist Book of Discipline.

(82) Strabo, Geog. XV. I. 34.

(83) Pātimokkha (S. B. E. XIII, p. 26.)

by a State, it is easy to see how the prohibition would extend to the laity. Even the laity were forbidden to deal in slaves,[84] and Onesicritus says the Musicani had none.

Again, the Clementine Recognitions, in the third Christian century, have a like idyllic description of the Seres, in a passage ascribed to the school of Bardesanes, a Syrian Christian, 200 A. D., who is credited with a work on the Indian Gymnosophists.[85] The Musicani, the Sairandhras and the Middle-Country-men are some hundreds of miles apart, but they are all in the region bounded by the Indus, the Jamna, and the Vindhya Mountains. As the classical writers spoke loosely, and as the same people could change their location, or the same name be more widely applied, or the same civilization be extended in its influence, the three writers in question,—a Greek of the fourth century before Christ, a Christian of the third century after him, and a Chinese Buddhist of the fifth,—may all be describing the same folk.

Pliny, in the first century, apparently makes the Seres the Chinese, describing their situation in North-Eastern Asia, after passing the wastes and savages of Siberia.[86] Their manners are mild and they shun intercourse with strangers. They are doubtless the same as the Seræ described to Pliny by the ambassadors from Ceylon as dwelling beyond the Emodian Mountains, and having no proper language, but only uncouth sounds; they also are reserved in their intercourse.[87] The cotton-tree of the Seres is apparently mentioned by Pliny. Now, cotton was a Hindū product, and the Sanscrit word for it, *karpasa*, was borrowed by the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans. Though known in China as a garden plant, it was not raised there for trade until the Tartar conquest in the thirteenth century.[88] The Seres, with their cotton-plant, would therefore be a Hindū people; but the western nations confused cotton and silk. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century, who, following Ptolemy, places the Seres in Chinese Turkestan, mentions the silk (*sericum*) there, and says that silk, formerly worn only by nobles, was now

(84) **Aṅguttara Nikāyo**, V. 177. Translated by me in leaflet form (Philadelphia, 1900).

(85) Nathaniel Larder, Works: London, 1788, Vol. 2, p. 299.

(86) Nat. Hist. VI. 20.

(87) Ibid., VI. 24. The Seres north of the Himālayas are of course the true ones, not to be confounded with the Cheras mentioned above.

(88) The Cotton-Plant. (U. S. Department of Agriculture: Washington 896, p. 120)

used by the lowest.[89] He probably means cotton, for it seems that silk was not known here so early.[93] This country is the true home of the Seres. It is described by the Chinese pilgrims as zealously Buddhist. The names of the mountains and rivers given by Ptolemy and Ammianus identify Serica with Chinese Turkestan beyond a doubt.

But ancient authors speak of Seres not only in Turkestan, but in China and in Parthia; for Hippolytus tells us that Elkesai got his mixed religion "from Seres of Parthia."[91] Now, what class of men, of Hindū origin, were to be found in all these places?[92] Answer: Buddhists. It is to be noted that Pliny is the first to find them (as we presume) in China, whither they went in the sixties of the first century. Pliny wrote in the seventies. But Buddhists were known in the Chinese Empire before the time of Christ; and after all, Pliny may not have been describing Siberia and China, but regions further south.

I will now transcribe the three descriptions of Buddhist civilization already mentioned, using the current translations.

Strabo (quoting Onesicritus) says this:[93]

"He expatiates also in praise of the country of Musicanus, and relates of the inhabitants what is common to other Indian tribes, that they are long lived, that life is protracted even to the age of one hundred and thirty years: (the Seres, however, are said by some writers to be still longer lived); that they are temperate in their habits and healthy, although the country produces everything in abundance.

(89) Ammianus Marcell. XXIII. 6. See also Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, articles *Emodi* and *Œchardes*, which are much clearer than the article *Serica*.

Gerini in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., 1897, also identifies the Œchardes with the Tarim, though he extends it to the Hwangho, which the Chinese believed to have underground connection with the Tarim. The name Œchardes appears to survive in the name Ukiat (French Oukiat) a tributary of the Tarim also called the Shakh-yar-daria. (Vivien St. Martin, appendix to Julien's Hionen Thsang, Vol. 3., p. 265). It appears to me that the name of the Auxasian Mountains, one of the three sources of the Œchardes, is preserved in the modern Ak-su, and Gerini evidently agrees with this, for he identifies these mountains with the Tien-Shan, just north of Ak-su and Harashar.

(90) Klaproth and Reinaud: Journal Asiatique, Mars-Avril, 1863, p. 126.

(91) Hippolytus: Haer, IX. 8.

(92) Pausanias (VI. 26) reports an opinion that the Seres were a mixture of Scythians and Hindūs.

(93) Geography XV. i. 34. Cunningham places the Musicani on the Eastern banks of the Indus, in latitude 27½0 North.

"The following are their peculiarities: to have a kind of Lacedæmonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They make no use of gold or silver, although they have mines of these metals. Instead of slaves they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotæ, and the Lacedæmonians the Helots. They study no science with attention but that of medicine; for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war and the like, to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a persons's own power to escape either one or the other; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong if good faith is violated by another; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of justice."

"Such are the accounts of those who accompanied Alexander in his expedition."

The *Clementine Recognitions* say this:[94]

"There are, in every country or kingdom, laws imposed by men, enduring either by writing or simply through custom, [which no one easily transgresses. In short, the first] Seres,[95] [who dwell at the beginning of the world,][96] have a law not to know murder, [nor adultery,] nor whoredom, and not to commit theft, and not to worship idols; and in all that country, which is very large, there is neither temple [nor image,] nor harlot nor adultress, nor is any thief brought to trial. But neither is any man ever slain there; and no man's liberty of will is compelled, according to your doctrine, by the fiery star of Mars, to use the sword for the murder of man; nor does Venus, in conjunction with Mars, compel to adultery, although of course with them Mars occupies the middle circle of heaven every day. But amongst the Seres the fear of laws is more powerful than the configuration[97] of *genesis*."

"There are likewise amongst the Bactrians, in the Indian countries, immense multitudes of Brāhmans, who also themselves, from the tradition of their ancestors and peaceful customs and

(94) Clem. Recog. IX. 19.

(95) Eusebius omits. (Ev. Præp. VI. 10)

(96) Eusebius transposes, with different meaning, and has not "who dwell." The words in brackets that follow are omitted by him.

(97) Latin, *constellatio*.

laws, neither commit murder nor adultery nor worship idols,[98] nor have the practice of eating animal food, are never drunk, never do anything maliciously, but always fear God. And these things indeed they do, though the rest of the Indians commit both murders and adulteries, and worship idols and are drunken," &c.

The passage about the Seres, if not borrowed from the school of Bardesanes, may come from the companions of Alexander, like the story in Strabo. But the ensuing account of the Bactrians must be of later date, for the Bactrian Buddhists are evidently meant, and Buddhism entered Bactria under Asoko, in the third century B. C. The following passage, in the Clementine Recognitions, is from a part of the work not ascribed to Bardesanes:[99]

"The Seres, because they live chastely, are kept free from all [evils]; for with them it is unlawful to come at a woman after she has conceived, or while she is being purified.[100] No one there eats unclean flesh, no one knows aught of sacrifices: all are judges to themselves according to justice."

The Buddhists have always been non-sacrificial, and in their first five hundred years they made no idols. It was for this reason that Celsus, in the second century, called the Seres atheists (Ἄθεοι).[101] But such a character has never belonged to the religion of China, whether ancient or modern: the Chinese have sacrificed animals from remote antiquity, and their ancestral tablets are ornamented with images of monsters. That the Seres were Buddhists there can be no doubt.

Even four hundred years after Christ, when images were common, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim could write thus:[102]

(98) Latin, *simulacra*. Above, it is rendered "image," while the word "idols" is *idola*. Cf. Arian, Indica 10: "The Hindūs make no monuments to the deceased." This refers to μνημεῖα, or ornamental sepulchers: it does not preclude the rudimentary primeval topes.

(99) Clem. Recog. VIII. 48.

(100) Compare the conduct of Buddha's mother (Dīgha 14 and Majjhima 123). The Essenes also practised it. (Josephus, Wars II. viii. 13.) The Hindu Law-book of Vishṇu enjoins it. (LXIX. 17).

(101) Origen, contra Celsum VII. 62.

(102) Fa Hian, Cap. 16, Legge's translation, 1886.

法顯傳(致六 2 b).

"從是[摩頭羅又經薄那河]以南名爲中國　中國寒暑調和無霜雪，人民殷樂，無戶籍官法　唯耕王地者乃輸地利。欲去便去，欲住便住。王治不用刑斬　有罪者但罰其錢，隨事輕重　雖復謀爲惡逆，不過截右手而已。王之侍衛左右皆有供祿　舉國人民悉不殺生，不飲酒，不食葱蒜。唯除旃荼羅　旃荼羅名爲惡人，與人別居　若入城市則擊木以自異，人則識而避之不相觸撲。國中不養賭鷄，不賣生口，市無屠害及沽酒者　貨易則用貝齒　唯旃荼羅漁獵師賣肉耳"

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"All south from this [Mathurā and the Jamnā] is named the Middle Kingdom. In it the heat and cold are finely tempered, and there is neither hoar-frost nor snow. The people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules. Only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay (a portion of) the gain from it. If they want to go, they go; if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation, or (other) corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances (of each case). Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion, they only have their right hands cut off. The king's body-guards and attendants all have salaries. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the Caṇḍālas. This is the name for those who are (held to be) wicked men, and live apart from others. When they enter the gate of a city or a market-place, they strike a piece of wood to make themselves known, so that men know and avoid them, and do not come into contact with them. In that country they do not keep pigs and fowls, and do not sell live cattle; in the markets there are no butcher's shops and no dealers in intoxicating drinks. In buying and selling commodities they use cowries. Only the Caṇḍālas are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh meat."

Much commentary will yet be made upon these remarkable passages. They exhibit a true and consistent picture of Buddhism in its palmy days.[103] They are confirmed by Pliny's description of Ceylon in the first century:[104] he says they had neither slavery nor lawsuits; the king was elective and liable to impeachment and even death. Capital sentences generally, however, could be appealed from to a jury of seventy.

Ever since the Chinese arms were pushed to the Bolor Tagh in the second century before Christ, there has been intercourse between the Chinese and the Parthians or the Persians;[105] and

(103) The influence of Buddhism on civilization has been well treated by James Emerson Tennent in his standard work on Ceylon (London, 1859). The artificial lakes or reservoirs of Ceylon are among the wonders of the world.

(104) Nat. Hist. VI. 24, quoted before.

(105) Beal: Buddhism in China: London, 1884, p. 45.

It is significant that the Septuagint should have *Persians* in Isaiah XLIX. 12, as a translation of *Sinim*. If Sin were really China, it would only be known through a Bactrian or Persian medium.

between the Chinese and the Hindūs longer still. But what immediately concerns us is the intercourse of the Greeks and Romans with the East. Fergusson has shown that, after the conquests of Alexander, there was a continual march of Greek art across the continent of Asia. In the early centuries of the Christian era the Hellenists were carving statues of Buddha in Bactrian monasteries, and the Acts of Thomas represent that a Hindū agent came to Palestine to seek for artificers. This Græco-Indian art was centered in the city of Taxila in the Panjāb, which is often mentioned by Greek writers; while, according to Hindū ones, it was a seat of universal learning. How often, in the Jātaka tales, is the Bodhisat educated at Taxila!

I will not be so bold as to associate the Essenes with Buddhists, though Beal's identification of Ἐσσηνοι, Ἐσσαιοι, with *Isino, Isayo*, the two plural forms of a common Pāli term for a Buddhist, is very tempting.(105) I have found both of these forms in the Saṃyutta Nikāyo. If ever Essenism had a Buddhist element in it, it was certainly overlaid with others, notably Mazdean. The names of the angels and the books that the Essenes might not communicate could not be from genuine Buddhism, which is exoteric and non-magical. The lawgiver whom Josephus says they honored was probably Zoroaster.(107)

The Essenes had a doctrine of pre-existence, but not of transmigration. Now, pre-existence without transmigration is Mazdean. This confirms Lightfoot's position, that Mazdeism influenced the Essenes. Philo's description of them, in his essay *On the Virtuous being also free*, has the same mixture of non-Buddhist and quasi-Buddhist practices. Philo associates the Essenes with the Hindū gymnosophists; not, however, as having a common origin but as both exemplifying the freedom of virtue. For this reason, viz., that the emancipated human spirit in all ages, when establishing a society, is liable to do the same things, we cannot predicate a connection between Essenism and Buddhism as proven, but only as possible. The possibility is heightened by two things: (1) the connection reported by Aristotle between a Jewish sect near Damascus and the Hindū philosophers; and (2) the persistent efforts, in the second and third centuries after Christ, on the part of heresiarchs (Elkesai and Mānī) to frame an eclecticism out of Mazdeism and Buddhism. Why should not

(106) Abstract of Four Lectures: London, 1882, p. 163.

(107) Josephus, Wars, Book II. viii. 7.

this tendency reach back further than Mānī and Elkesai, and recede even to the times of Thomas and Matthew, of Ptolemy and Asoko, of Aristotle and Alexander?

We now come to Elkesai. Hippolytus tells us that this teacher's book was obtained "from Seres of Parthia."[108] This was at the end of the first century, the year 100 being referred to as the opening of a new era. Now, Elkesai's book taught that Christ was repeatedly incarnate—a thoroughly Buddhist idea; and we have already seen that Seres are Buddhists. But Elkesai's baptism and angelology are more likely Mazdean.[109]

Without going to so late an age as that of Mānī (third century) or, later still, to the Pahlavi version of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, we may find earlier traces or religious eclecticism in the Persian or Parthian Empire. The predecessor of Mānī called himself Buddas and Terebinthus, and gave out that he was born of a virgin.[110] He travelled among the Persians who were settled in Babylonia. His doctrine of a virginal birth was either late Buddhist or else Mazdean. It is the Saviors of Mazdeism who are born of virgins by means of the miraculously preserved seed of Zoroaster: Buddha's mother, on the other hand, though pure and good, is not a virgin but a wife. Terebinthus (a name, I strongly suspect, derived from his supposed Bo-tree) wrote four books:[111] *Mysteries, Gospel, Treasure, and Chapters*. Each of these titles is Buddhist: *Adbhuta*, *Saddharma*, *Nidhi* and *Kaṇḍa*. In fact, *Nidhi-Kaṇḍa*, "Treasure-chapter," is a well-known Pāli Sutta, in an ancient and popular Buddhist anthology. Now, we know from Chinese records that there was much Buddhist propaganda in Bactria and Parthia in the early Christian centuries: many monks from these parts took Buddhist books into China. If the records of Western Buddhists had been as carefully kept as those of the Chinese, we should doubtless have knowledge of their activity in the valley of the Euphrates. But the hurricane of Islam destroyed them. Sylvain Lévi, however,

(108) Haer. IX. 8.

(109) Baptism is no part of a genuine Buddhist initiation, and the Essene practice may therefore be Chaldean, Parsī or Levitical. The phrase, "sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship," in the Book of the Great Decease, receives no confirmation from the Book of Discipline, and is therefore figurative. With baptismal rites in later corrupt Buddhism we have nothing to do.

(110) Socrates, H. E. I. 22.

(111) Cf. the Bo-trees of different Buddhas, Dīgha 14, translated by me (Philadelphia, 1890) and now by Rhys Davids (Dialogues of the Buddha, vol. 2.)

tells a story from an Armenian historian of a Hindū colony in Armenia, which lasted from the first century to the fourth.[112] It is such links as this that enable us to understand how it was that the early Christian Gnostics got hold of Hindū ideas. Hippolytus tells us that the Docetists maintained that Christ came to abolish transmigration.[113] Now Gotamo says, on the first page of the *Ātivuttaka*, the Buddhist Logia-Book: "I am your surety against return to earth."[113a]

Baur and Garbe have, moreover, pointed out that the Gnostic classification of men as material, psychical and spiritual, corresponds to the Three Guṇas of the Sāṇkhya philosophy.[114] Plutarch gives us an example of a barbarian (evidently a Hindū or a Hindū proselyte) talking philosophy to a Greek.[115] He made his appearance every year in the region of the Red Sea, living the rest of the time in the wilds, and having intercourse with demons and pastoral nymphs. He said the demons inspired him, and explained a doctrine found in the first Sutta of the Long Collection: how that spirits, when expelled from a lower sphere, upon the dissolution of the universe, migrate into a higher one until a certain cycle is fulfilled. His notion of a plurality of worlds may also be Hindū, but his number 183 is hard to account for.

Basilides, in the first half of the second century, has also a parallel to the Sutta metioned. The passage is so extraordinary, so thoroughly Buddhist, and so unlikely to have been derived elsewhere, that I will quote both it and the Buddhist text. The Sutta says:[116]

"Now there comes a time, brethren, when, sooner or later, after the lapse of a long, long period, this world-system passes away. And when this happens, beings have mostly been born in the World of Radiance, and there they dwell made of mind, feeding on joy, radiating light from themselves, traversing the air, continuing in glory; and thus they remain for a long, long period of time.

"Now there comes also a time, brethren, when sooner or later, this world-system begins to re-evolve. When this happens

(112) Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 1891.

(113) Haer. VIII. 3. (113 a) 我證定彼定…不復還來生此世間(長六 23 b).

(114) Richard Garbe: Philosophy of Ancient India, Chicago 1897, p. 18.

(115) De Def. Orac. 21, 22.

(116) Brahma-Jāla Sutta, Rhys Davids' translation, 1899. (*Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. I, p. 30.*) 長阿鋡動經(長九 73 b). 或有是時此劫始成, 有餘衆生 &c.

the Palace of Brahmā appears, but it is empty. And some being or other, either because his span of years has passed or his merit is exhausted, falls from that World of Radiance, and comes to life in the Palace of Brahmā. And there also he lives made of mind, feeding on joy, radiating light from himself, traversing the air, continuing in glory; and thus does he remain for a long, long period of time.

"Now there arises in him, from his dwelling there so long alone a dissatisfaction and a longing: 'O! would that other beings might come to join me in this place!' And just then, either because their span of years had passed or their merit was exhausted, other beings fall from the world of Radiance and appear in the Palace of Brahmā as companions to him, and in all respects like him. On this, brethren, the one who was first re-born thinks thus to himself: 'I am Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, the Supreme One, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord of all, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days, the Father of all that are and are to be. These other beings are of my creation. And why is that so? Awhile ago I thought, "Would that they might come!" And on my mental aspiration, behold the beings came.'

"And those beings themselves, too, think thus: 'This must be Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, the Supreme, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord of all, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days, the Father of all that are and are to be. And we must have been created by him. And why? Because, as we see, it was he who was here first, and we came here after that.'

"On this, brethren, the one who first came into existence there is of longer life, and more glorious, and more powerful than those who appeared after him. And it might well be, brethren, that some being on his falling from that state, should come hither. And having come hither he might go forth from the household life into the homeless state. And having thus become a recluse he, by reason of ardour, of exertion, of application, of earnestness, of careful thought, reaches up to such rapture of heart that, rapt in heart, he calls to mind his last dwelling-place, but not the previous ones. He says to himself: 'That illustrious Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, the Supreme One, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord of all, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days,

the Father of all that are and are to be, he by whom we were created, he is steadfast, immutable, eternal, of a nature that knows no change, and he will remain so for ever and ever. But we who were created by him have come here as being impermanent, mutable, limited in duration of life.

"This, brethren, is the first state of things on account of which, starting out from which, some recluses and Brāhmans, being Eternalists, as to some things, and Non-Eternalists as to others, maintain that the soul and the world are partly eternal and partly not."

According to Hippolytus, Basilides taught this:[117]

"The Gospel came, says [Basilides,] first from the Sonship through the Son, that was seated beside the Archon, to the Archon; and the Archon learned that he was not God of the universe, but was begotten. But, [ascertaining that] he has above himself the deposited treasure of that Ineffable and Unnameable [and] Non-existent One, and of the Sonship, he was both converted and filled with terror, when he was brought to understand in what ignorance he was [involved.] This, he says, is what has been declared: 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' For, being orally instructed by Christ, who was seated near, he began to acquire wisdom, [inasmuch as he thereby] learns who is the Non-existent One, what the Sonship [is,] what the Holy Spirit [is,] what the apparatus of the universe [is,] and what is likely to be the consummation of things. This is the wisdom spoken in a mystery, concerning which, says [Basilides,] Scripture uses the following expressions: 'Not in words taught of human wisdom, but in [those] taught of the Spirit.' The Archon, then, being orally instructed, and taught, and being [thereby] filled with fear, proceeded to make confession concerning the sin which he had committed in magnifying himself. This, he says, is what is declared: 'I have recognized my sin, and I know my transgression, [and] about this I shall confess forever."

This idea, that an angelic personage wrongly imagines himself to be the Supreme Being, is found, I believe, in no religion but Buddhism. The further idea, that he should be instructed by Christ, is also found there: in the forty-ninth Dialogue of the Middling Collection, (中阿,梵天請佛經) Gotamo instructs the Brahmā Bakko that he is not immortal.

(117) Haer. Vii. 14, Edinburgh translation.

Before we leave the second century we must notice two things:

1. The mention of Buddha by Clement of Alexandria;

2. The finding of the Gospel of Matthew in India by Pantænus.

Clement, in the closing decade of the second century, says this:[118]

"Philosophy, a thing of the highest utility, flourished in antiquity among the barbarians, shedding its light over the nations. And afterwards it came to Greece. First in its ranks were the prophets of the Egyptians; and the Chaldeans among the Assyrians; and the Druids among the Gauls; and the *Samanas* among the Bactrians; and the philosophers of the Celts; and the Magi of the Persians, who foretold the Saviour's birth, and came to the land of Juda, guided by a star. The Hindū gymnosophists are also in the number, and the other barbarian philosophers. And of these there are two classes: some of them called Samanas, and others Brahmins. And those of the Samanas, who are called forest-dwellers, neither inhabit cities nor have roofs over them, but are clad in the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water in their hands. They know neither marriage nor begetting of children, like those now called Encratites. There are also among the Hindūs those who obey the precepts of Buddha, whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity (or, Samana-ship) they have exalted into a god."[119]

Clement may be quoting Megasthenes here, or Alexander Polyhistor: we do not know. He quotes both these authors by name in this very chapter. Polyhistor described the Bactrian topes, and Clement also quotes his description in another place, as we have seen before. There may have been Buddhist books in the Alexandrine Library—a thing we should very much like to know. We do know from Pliny that there were Zoroastrian ones translated by Hermippus; and yet Clement, who alludes to Zoroaster, does not quote them, but says that secret Mazdean books were read by the disciples of Prodicus the heretic. Clement's non-quotation of Buddhist books therefore cannot of itself

(118) Stromata I. 15.

(119) Lightfoot corrects Priaulx in criticising this passage, which is abridged by Cyril, and not necessarily quoted from Alexander Polyhistor, as Priaulx believed.

throw doubt on their existence in Alexandria; but, taken together with the silence of all the ancients, it does throw doubt. Still the fact remains that Megasthenes, Alexander Polyhistor, and other writers on India were read in Alexandria; while the intercourse which we have proved between East and West makes it probable that more direct knowledge existed there. This intercourse also makes it likely that India itself is meant in the story of Pantænus, and not merely some Red Sea country loosely called India. Milne Rae, in his work on the Syrian Church in India quoted above, considers that Jerome's identification of Pantænus' India with the land of the Brahmins proves the case. The monsoon has brought Alexandria near to the ports on the Indus; and just as the Mahdi's proclamation of 1884 spoke of Suez and Constantinople as neighbors because the Nubians embark at the one for the other,[120] so in the second century, was India the neighbor of Alexandria. It is therefore to be taken as fact of history that when Pantænus went to India, he found the gospel of Matthew already there. Renan has shown that Semitic dialects were engrafted upon Indian languages by traffickers; and the widespread use of Semitic letters on coins and inscriptions makes it quite natural for Pantænus to have found the First Gospel in India in Aramaic ones.[121]

Moreover, at the end of the fourth century, Chrysostom tells us that the Hindūs, as well as the Syrians, Egyptians, Persians and Ethiops, had translated the doctrines of John.[122] It is in a rhetorical passage about the influence of John, compared with that of Pythagoras and Plato; but as we know that versions of the New Testament have come down to us from most of[123] the other nations mentioned, it is reasonable to believe that by the time of Chrysostom the Hindūs had also a version. This is confirmed by Socrates,[124] who says that Bartholomew was appointed missionary to that part of India contiguous to Ethiopia, meaning doubtless the Coromandel coast, which was in constant communication with the Red Sea ports. Socrates also tells us that

(120) Renan: Histoire du Peuple d'Israel, Vol. 2.

(121) Asoko's edict at Shāhbāzgarhi is in a Semitic character, though in a Pāli or Prākrit dialect; and this character continued in use for some time later. See Rawlinson's Parthia: N. Y. 1893, pp. 391 & 415.

(122) Homily 2 on John.

(123) Hug says that the Persian Gospels are post-Muslim, so that we cannot count upon that version as early.

(124) H. E. I. 19.

the Indians of the interior were not converted till the time of Constantine. This period coincides with what Max Müller calls the Renaissance of Sanskrit literature, whereto he ascribes the later episodes in the Great Epic, such as the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. If this be so, then the incarnation-doctrine of the latter may have a Christian origin. Other possible allusions to Christianity in the Great Epic have been noticed by Washburn Hopkins.[125] Cosmas Indicopleustes found the Syrian church in India in the sixth century, and Nicolo Conti in the fifteenth.[126] The disappearance of the Hindū version of the New Testament is much less astonishing than that of the Pāli Canon on the Indian continent.

The names of Greek benefactors of native shrines are found engraven in Indian caves, as at Kharli.[127] The Kharli cave is Buddhist, and appears to antedate the Christian era. Other inscriptions of the same kind belong to the early Christian centuries. Now, we have seen that there was intercourse—religious, philosophic, literary, artistic and commercial—between the Greeks and the Hindūs, all the time from Megasthenes to Hippolytus. Estlin Carpenter has pointed out that the latter writer (third century) gives the fullest account of the Hindūs that we possess since that of the former. This is probably because a traveller of the second or third century had furnished new materials, but it does not imply any intercourse between East and West in the interval which includes the Christian era. When Estlin Carpenter wrote, in 1880,[128] Jacobs had not yet traced the Jātakas into the Talmud (1889). Strabo's observation shows that at the time of Christ the intercourse was at its height.

The first century was a time of religious ferment, from the Nile to the Yangtse-Kiang. The Parthian Vologeses was collecting the scattered Zorosatrian Avesta,[129] while the Indo-Scythian Kanishka was giving imperial sanction to the Sanskrit com-

(125) Religions of India: Boston, 1895, p. 431.

(126) Hakluyt Society: London, 1857. The same volume (*India in the Fifteenth Century*) contains the travels of Athanasius Nitikin, who found the expiring remnants of Buddhism in central India, sadly mixed with Çaivism.

(127) Beal: Buddhism in China: London 1884, p. 139. Sylvain Lévi: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions: Paris, 1891, part 1, p. 44. Minayeff: Recherches sur le Bouddhisme: Paris, 1894, p. 106.

(One of them reads: *Dhamma-Yavanasa Dhenikasa*, i.e. donation of the pious Greek Dhenika). (A. M.).

(128) Nineteenth Century: December, 1880.

(129) Darmesteter, Introd. to S. B. E. IV, p. XXXIII.

mentaries on the Canon of the Buddhists.[130] The Emperor of China had a dream which resulted in the official introduction of Buddhism into his dominions, at the very time, perhaps the very year, when Paul was standing before Nero.[131] Thomas, says the legend, was preaching to the Hindūs, and Matthew to the Parthians (even if neither got further East than Edessa), while the Buddhist father Açvaghosha was carried into Bactria by Kanishka.[132] He it was who wrote that celebrated treatise, lately translated by Suzuki in Chicago, which played for Buddhism the part of Origen for Christianity—laid the basis of a religious philosophy. Each of these daring thinkers aimed to supply the deficiencies of his Master: Origen, in the third century, framed into intellectual outlines the gnomic utterances of Jesus and the half-sketched system of Paul; Açvaghosha, in the first century, established a relation between man and the primal Being which Gotamo had set aside.

We thus see that in the first century there arose a tidal wave of religion from the Levant to the Yellow Sea, but in earlier ages there had been similar uprisings in the region between the Ganges and the Nile. I am never tired of repeating that this region is the Holy Land of the human race, and was so regarded by the ancients, some of whom, says Strabo, considered all Asia as far as India to be consecrated to Bacchus.[133] Even now we all look to that region: Heblew and Parsi, Hindū and Christian, Buddhist and Muslim, all seek the fount of their faiths in that mystic realm. The lost religions of Babylon and Egypt were born there. Even the Greeks and the Romans were debtors thereto for the cults of Bacchus and Mithras and perhaps for the Mysteries of Eleusis. Among the great nations of to-day, only those Chinamen and Japanese who practise their ancestral religions uninfluenced by Buddhism are

(130) Hiuen Tsiang, Book III. Cf. Rhys Davids' note in introduction to S. B. E. XXXVI.

(131) Harlez gives A. D. 63 (Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 1893.)

(132) Beal, Four Lectures, p. XI. Suzuki's translation of Açvaghosha's treatise on Faith: Chicago, 1900, pp. 11, 12. According to the Tibetan account, also given by Suzuki, Açvaghosha was too old to go to Bactria, but sent a disciple of his, with a letter on Buddhism.

(133) Geog. X. 3. Cf. Justinus XLII. 3, where Hercules and Bacchus are called Kings of the East.

aliens thereto. But, with all its corruptions, the faith of Gotamo has always been a power among them; and today the thoughtful among those distant Mongols set their faces toward the Ganges.

Religious ideas, like all others, are spread by political power and military force. Lightfoot has shown that even the disintegration of an empire scatters far and wide the seeds of its thought. Thus did Persian ideas persist from the Bosphorus to the Indus long after the glory had departed from the house of Cyrus. Thus too did the Greek tongue become the sacred language of the Christians when the Greek arms had long since succumbed to the Roman. Still, it is martial might that first makes a nation strong enough for its thoughts to take root among strangers, generally among those who have felt the force of its arms So in the regions of Aram and Persia, as empire rose upon empire, wave after wave of thought, with Aramaic for a vehicle,[134] had rolled from Taxila to Damascus.[135] The Semitic idolatry of Solomon, with its germs of monotheism; the Tammuz-cult of Nebuchadnezzar;[136] The Mazdeism of Darius Hystaspes,[137] the Hellenic arts of Alexander, and the Judaism of John Hyrcanus[138] had left their impress on the East. The Greek language, which the arms of Alexander had spread over this Holy Land, became a vehicle for a Gentile version of the Old Testament, while the very king who patronized its translation received a message from Asoko. The message implies an embassy, and the eagerness of Philadelphus to collect and translate the literature of Asia would lead us to hope that Asoko sent him some specimens. Unfortunately, however, we cannot be sure that Hindū sacred oracles, whether Brahmin or Buddhist, had then been committed to writing. The Great Epic of India pronounces a curse on him who sells, defiles or *writes* the Veda;[139] but the composition of this vast body of poetry extends over a period of a thousand years, divided by the Christian era; and we do not know whether the curse was called forth by some actual attempt to write or sell the Veda, and even if so, at which

(134) Ezra VI. 7; Josephus, *Wars*, Proem.

(135) Clem. Alex. to the Greeks, cap. 5.

(136) Ezekiel VIII. 14.

(137) Behistān Inscription.

(138) Josephus, Antiq. XIII. ix 1: Strabo XVI. ii. 34.

(139) Max Müller: History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature: London, 1859. p. 502. Professor C. R. Lanman tells me that the passage occurs in Parvan XIII. This entire book is one of the later additions to the Epic.

end of the thousand years the attempt was made, there might have been some writing of Hindū laws at the time of Philadelphus and Asoko (for the Sūtra period had closed,)[140] but hardly of the Veda.

As to the Buddhist oracles, the Three Baskets were first committed to writing, so far as we know, about 40. B. C., and then only at the Great Monastery in Ceylon. Four hundred years after Christ, Fā Hian found written copies rare in continental India. If any Hindū writings found their way to Alexandria they were most probably popular literature, but not the sacred books. The Talmudic fables which we have mentioned came doubtless through an oral channel. In spite of Strabo's complaint of the ignorance of merchants,[141] some travellers must have been intelligent enough to make this transference of folk-lore. Indeed nothing in the East travels quicker than a good story.

The Greeks and Romans evidently knew more about Brahmins than about Buddhists, as we may see from writers like Hippolytus, who give clearer accounts of the former than of the latter Magasthenes was their chief authority, and he was ambassador at a Brahmin court, before Buddhism was clothed with political power.

The monks whom Asoko had sent forth to preach the doctrines of Gotamo may have gone to Antioch and to Alexandria, but they settled no further west than Persia. Albīrūnī makes the Persian province of Khurāsān the western frontier of Buddhism, at least of its continuous extension. Mithra-worship has left traces of its prevalence from Bactria to Northumberland,[142] and if Buddhism had been half as prevalent, it would also have left remains. Every nation where it ever was planted has contributed to its literature, from Tōkyō to Astrakhan; and even where Buddhist books have disappeared, as in India proper, the national literatuae bears witness to its power; so that in Syria, where it has left us little, we cannot reckon it to have been a power on a footing with Hellenism and Mazdeism.

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(140) Hopkins: Religions of India (Boston, 1895, p. 8.)

(141) Geog. XV. i. 4.

(142) Clem. Alex. to the Greeks: cap. 5; Beal, Buddhism in China p. 128. The text here is just as I wrote it before reading Aiken's excellent statement of the limits of Buddhism.

And yet the migration of the Jātakas and the Buddhist touches in the acts of Thomas leave us a loophole wherethrough some influence may have passed. I now propose to shew that this influence is traceable in the Gospel of Luke

We have seen that Marcion, in the first half of the second century, had a recension of Luke which he accounted genuine, and which omitted certain sections dependent upon the Old Testament and other sacred books. It was the aim of Marcion to clear the new religion of all association with the past, and to make it a revelation from the God of Jesus, who was above the Demiurge.[143] But the aims of Luke were broader: he wanted to adapt the Gospel to the votaries of older faiths, on his principle that God had spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets since the world began, and that in every nation the worker of righteousness is accepted of him. He has in his Gospel a section known as the Perean Section, containing stories coming from Perea, that eastern parts of Palestine beyond the Jordan, where the influence of other cults was felt. The Buddhist was possibly one of them. Albīrūnī says that, in the tenth century, the remnant of the Sabians (whom he associates with Buddhism) were living in Harrān. Now, we have laid down the principle that no borrowing is to be alleged except in cases of identity of text or *sequence of narrative*, accompanied with demonstrable intercourse. The intercourse between Buddhist lands and Palestine has been proven. We have no identity of text between Luke and the Piṭakas, except a partial verbal agreement between the Buddhist and Lucan Angelic Hymns:

Sutta-Nipāto, Nālaka-Sutta.	**Luke II. 10-11.**
[Angels speak.]	And the angel said unto them, Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people: for there is born to you this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.
The Bodhisat, the best incomparable gem,	
Is born for weal and welfare in the world of men,	
In the town of the Sākyas, in the region of Lumbinī.	
Therefore are we glad and exceedingly pleased.	

But in the matter of sequence of narrative, we have a clear

(143) According to Albīrūnī, however, Marcion and Bardesanes were Mazdeans who embraced Christianity, but mixed it with the former faith.

case in the Infancy Section. The whole narrative of Christ's Nativity in Luke is more closely parrallel to Buddha's than to those of Zoroaster, Augustus, or any other hero of antiquity. Here are the parallels, which the reader may verify from the translations in this book:—

1. The theory of a spiritul power overshadowing the mother.
2. The vision by a hermit (shepherds in Luke) of angelic hosts rejoicing.
3. The Angelic Hymn.
4. The prediction about the career of the Saviour by an aged hermit who had been looking for him.

To these we may add, from the body of Luke's Gospel (not however, on the ground of sequence):

5. The charge to sixty-one disciples (seventy in Luke), to preach the Gospel.
6. The Penitent Thief.
7. The Ascension.

Now, all these incidents are peculiar or original to Luke, and are nearly all demonstrably fiction. This can be proved within the New Testament itself. The unhistoric character of the Infancy Section, which contains Nos. 1–4, has long been suspected, and is now being admitted by Chsistian scholars. The Charge to the Seventy is proved to be fiction by Luke himself, for, in his 22nd chapter, he correctly (in agreement with Mark and Matthew) ascribes to the Charge to the Twelve an injunction which he has omitted in his account of that charge, and transferred to the charge to the Seventy. (Cf. Luke X. 4 with XXII. 35). The repentance of the dying thief is proved to be fiction by Mark, our most veracious Evangelist, who says that both the malefactors reviled the Lord. The Ascension is at least under suspicion as a later legend, because absent from Mark, John and Matthew, absent from Luke himself in some MSS., and only found in its developed form in Acts.(144) All this is a chain of cumulative evidence which is hard to resist.

I do not say that Luke borrowed these straight from the Buddhist legends; still less do I deny the truth of the great Christian doctrines that lie behind them. All I maintain is: It is more than mere coincidence that the Gentile Evangelist, who

(144) That is, the objective Ascension, not the spiritual one of Luke IX. 51.

alone[145] tells most of these stories, should hit upon some of the most salient narratives (for such are Nos. 1–6) of the Buddhist Gospel, which at that very time was the dominant religious force on the continent of Asia. In the very years when his master Paul was standing before Nero, Buddhism was entering China; while so far west as Persia, and probably to some extent on Babylonia, the faith was known.[146] Luke then, who aimed to make the Gospel universal, as Paul had done, was influence by the Buddhist Epic, but did not slavishly copy it. I would not, with Seydel, extend the Buddhist influence to the entire Christian Epic, but limit it to the Gospel of Luke and perhaps John. Even in doing this much, I submit it only as an hypothesis.

In comparing the two Gospels we must distinguish three things:

1. The facts of the founders' lives as Eastern prophets. Their fasting and desert-meditation; their missionary charge; their appointment of a successor; their preaching to the poor; their sympathy with the oppressed; their self-assertion as patterns of the race; their transfiguration on the eve of death; their forecast of faith's triumph and decline; their exaltation in the ideal world: all these are hard biographical facts.

2. The influence upon their biographies of the hero-legends of their native lands and those of neighboring nations. Under this head come the Messianic features: the birth-marvels; the fight with fiends (with of course a foundation in fact); the expected return in glory of the Master or his remote successor; and their superhuman powers.[147] Under this head, the Buddha-legend may go back to the Indian Rishis, and the Christ-legend to Elijah and Elisha. Both may have caught a tinge from Zoroaster, and Christ from the earlier Buddha; while the later Buddha-legends may have been influenced by rising Christianity, as Beal suggested.

(145) The conception by the Holy Ghost is also told by the Canonical Matthew; but Luke's whole Gospel preceded this redaction of the Matthean one. In other words, the supernatural birth was imported by Luke into the New Testament, while the editors of Matthew, following suit, gave a Zoroastrian form to the same.

(146) Mānī knew of Buddhism in Babylonia in the third century, and it was probably there earlier. (Albīrūnī. London, 1879, p. 190.)

(147) We mean here only the absurd ones, such as finding money in fishes and flying across the Ganges. The true ones, of psychic influence and healing power, come under our first head.

3. The presence of a pre-historic hero-myth, more or less bodied forth in Osiris, Hercules and Wäinamöinen. As Greek has borrowed a few words from Sanskrit, yet both go back to an Aryan parent, so is it with the faiths. Ay, and there may be an Ugro-Aryan still farther back in the sea-like wastes of time. As in geology the fundamental gneiss of the New World is not visibly connected with that of the Old, but both are a common outcrop from the primeval earth,—while yet again at points a visible connection may be found,—so is it with religion. Under this head, therefore, are included those resemblances which have their ground in the human mind itself, and belong to the domain of psychology.

Buddhism seems to have been destined to travel from the East to the further East; Christianity from the East to the West. Renan has said a remarkable thing about the non-importation of Christianity into the far East:—

"Arabian countries did not lend themselves at all to the new preaching, and the lands submitted to the Arsacidae were open but little to efforts coming from Roman countries. In the geography of the apostles, the earth is very small. The first Christians never dream of the barbarian world nor of the Persian; even the Arabian world hardly exists for them. The missions of Saint Thomas to the Parthians, of Saint Andrew to the Scythians, and of St. Bartholomew in India belong to legend. The Christian imagination of the early times turns little toward the East: the goal of the apostolic journeyings was the extremity of the West, [Rom. XV. 19 and 28; Clem. Rom. 5;] in the East one would say that the missionaries regard the limit as already reached."(146) Renan has here seized upon a great central fact with that insight which belongs to the true historian: the limitations of the apostles set the current of Christianity toward the West.

Dramatic in the highest is the course of the two great world-faiths: Buddhism has rolled from the Ganges to the Pacific, and Christianity from the Jordan, in the reverse direction, again to the Pacific, until in Japan and the United States, after their age-long and planetary march, they stand looking at each other across that ocean—once a Spanish, but now an American lake. Just as the Greek New Testament words *presbyter*, *church*, and

(146) Of course Renan is here speaking of the apostles, but he also doubts the visit of Pantænus to India in the second century, which we have maintained.

the like, are spread through all the languages of Christendom from Hellas to Iceland, so are the Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist words for the same things spread through all the tongues of Buddhadom. Sometimes too they have encroached upon each other's realms. Thus we find the Greek and Latin *Samanæus* carrying the old Pāli word *Samaṇa* to the banks of the Tiber; and, long before the Clivian era of cosmic intercourse, the Christian monks on Rhine and Tyne took the old term still farther from its homes on the Ganges, the Mekong and the Yang-tse-kiang.

Christianity spread the Roman form of the Phœnician alphabet over Europe and America, while Buddhism spread its Pāli form over the continent of Asia and the islands of the sea. The old alphabet of the Philippine Tagals is derived from Asoko's Pāli, and in that dreamy archipelago the two great world-forces, which first met when the Spaniards landed in the sixteenth century, have now, at the dawn of the twentieth, begun a new act in the drama which only time can unroll.

Apart from the external embellishments of the two Gospels, Buddhist and Christian, there is, as Schopenhauer maintained, a profound agreement between them. On the surface, i. e. in the realm of emotion, they are diametrically contradictory: one ignoring a personal God, and the other proclaiming him; one teaching self-salvation, assisted by a Saviour; the other preaching salvation through Christ alone, seconded by one's prayers and efforts; one asserting a past eternity of transmigration that must end in Nirvāṇa; the other ignoring the past, but clinging to a future eternity of personal redeemed life. Yet, deep in the region of truth, the twain are one: both proclaim the necessity of a second death, a death of self: "whoso seeketh his soul shall lose it, but he that loseth it shall find it." Both maintain, in different ways—one emotionally, and the other intellectually—that self is unreal, that we metaphysical islands were once parts of a continent, and may yet be so again.[149]

Buddha, while subordinating the office of the personal Saviour, yet admits it.[150] He recognized his personal power also when he said his religion would wane after his death. Jesus said the same. According to a later authority, there were

(149) John xvii. 22, 23; I Cor. xv. 28. Matthew Arnold's wonderful expression of this, in his *Switzerland*, is, from a Hindū standpoint, the high-water-mark of European poetry.

(150) See our translations from Itivuttaka 92 and Majjhima 22.

no Arahats after the first Buddhist century; while the *Milindo* represents that Devadatto was only saved from everlasting perdition by joining the church.

The Buddhist Nirvāṇa is that of the intellect: loss of self in the universe; the Christian Nirvāṇa is that of the heart: loss of self in others. And yet the Christian humiliation before the deity recognizes the former truth, while the Buddhist love-meditation (*Metta-cittam*) admits the latter. Only in Christianity this second truth becomes objective and dominant. The touch-stone is the Gospel cures. The works of healing are the key to Christ. Beyond such cases as we have here translated of Stoical mind-cure, the Pāli Scriptures have nothing like them. Indeed Buddha could never have wrought them: his energy was spent upon philosophy. *He* gathered strength in the wilderness to solve problems; Jesus, to heal disease. Buddha would almost have regarded Christ's method as shallow: it was the disease of existence itself that he wanted to heal. On the other hand, even Jesus recognized the temporary nature of his cures and the stern ascendancy of evil on the physical plane, in that terrible parable of the unclean spirit's return.

The two great philosophers of the two faiths strove to fill up the deficiencies of the Masters: 'Origen attempted to give us the metaphysics neglected by Christ; 'Açvaghosha, the worship neglected by Buddha. But all is so far imperfect: all that we have gotten in this stage of our planet's spiritual history is two extreme points in its orbit wherefrom to calculate the parallax of far-away stars. Without these extreme points we can only calculate on the basis of the earth's diameter, whereby no parallax can be had, so that all theology that neglects one or the other of these cosmic faiths can deal only with the neighboring planets of its own religious system, but can never hope to let loose the imprisoned mind into the vast Beyond. The Christ-Metteyyo is yet to come, who shall make the measurement: the prophet of a perfect balance between mind and heart, whom Emerson sighed for, and for whom the ages wait.

End of Historical Introduction.

GOSPEL PARALLELS
FROM
PĀLI TEXTS.

PART I.

THE INFANCY LEGENDS.

* * * * * * *

1. Supernatural Birth.

Luke I. 35. (路加傳一の三五)

The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee: wherefore also the holy thing which is to be born shall be called the Son of God.

Middling Collection, Dialogue 38.[1]

(Quoted in the **Questions of King Milindo**, p. 123 of the Pāli, but omitted in the translation in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXV.)

Conception takes place, O monks, by the union of three. In this world the father and mother are united. The mother may be capable, but the genius[2] may not be ready. It is by the union of these three, O monks, that conception takes place.

C.T. 中阿 喈帝經 (N. C. No. 201 of No. 542. 戾七 68 b.)

復次三事合會入於母胎。 父母聚集一處。 母滿精耐香陰已至。此三事合會入於母胎。

* * * * * * *

2. The Nativity.

[Neither of the Christian Infancy Legends (Matthew I–II; Luke I.) have enough in common with the Buddhist to be here transcribed. I only give the following Dialogue, because of the dominant idea of a wonderful birth. But the conclusion of our

(1) Neumann, in his German translation (Vol. I. p. 420), expands the text here, presumably from the commentary.

(2) *Gandhabbo* (Sanskrit, *Gandharva*). Chinese reads 香陰, fragrant deposit. (A. M.)

Infancy Section (the narrative next to this one) will present remarkable agreements with Luke II.]

Dialogue on Wonders and Marvels.

Middling Collection, Dialogue 123.

THUS HAVE I HEARD. At one season the Lord was staying at Sāvatthī in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder of the Poor. Now a number of monks, upon returning from the quest of alms, and having eaten their meal, were sitting assembled in the room of state, when the following conversation arose:

"Wonderful, O brother! marvellous, O brother! is the occult power and magical might of the Tathāgato:[1] when, for example, he has knowledge of the bygone Buddhas who have gone into Nirvāna, have broken down obstacles and avenues, exhausted their transmigrations and passed beyond all pain, and the Tathāgato perceives: "Such were the families and such the names of the Blessed Ones; their clans were so-and-so; such were their morals, such their doctrines, their wisdom, their dwellings, and their manner of release."

After such talk as this, the venerable Ānando said to the monks: "Wonderful, brethren, are the Tathāgatos, and endowed with wonderful qualities; marvellous, brethren! are the Tathāgatos, and endowed with marvellous qualities."

Such was the conversation among the monks when it was broken off. Now, the Lord, having arisen from retirement at eventide, came into the room of state and sat down upon the seat prepared for him. While sitting there the Lord addressed the monks and said: "Monks! What now is the subject of your discourse while sitting together? And what, moreover, was your conversation which you just broke off?"

THEY ANSWERED: "Here, Lord, having returned from the quest of alms and having eaten our meal, we have been sitting assembled in the room of state, when the following conversation arose: 'Wonderful, O brother! marvellous, O brother! is the occult power and magical might of the Tathāgato,' (etc., repeated from above, down to the end of Ānando's speech). 'This, Lord, was our conversation which was broken off. Just then the Lord arrived.'

(1) The indefinite article may be rendered here with equal propriety.

Now the Lord addressed the venerable Ānando: "And so, Ānando, may the wonderful and marvellous qualities of the Tathāgato become more and more apparent."

[ĀNANDO REPLIED]: "*In my presence, Lord, was it heard from [the lips of] the Lord, and in my presence received: 'Ānando, the future Buddha is mindful and conscious when he is born with the Tusitā body. This fact, Lord, that the future Buddha is mindful and conscious when he is born with the Tusitā body, I hold to be a wonderful and marvellous quality of the Lord.'*" (2)

2. "'Ānando, the future Buddha abode for a lifetime in the Tusitā body.' (3)

C.T. 中阿 未曾有法經 (N. C. No. 32 of No. 542. 戾五 44–45.)

我聞是如, 佛遊舍衛國, 在勝林給孤獨園。——爾時尊者阿難則於晡時, 從燕座起, 往詣佛所稽首禮足, 却住一面白曰, "世尊, 我聞世尊, 迦葉佛時始願佛道行梵行……生兜瑟哆天, ……是世尊未曾有法。" …… (4)

我聞世尊, 迦葉佛……生兜瑟哆天。[後生以三事勝於前生, 兜瑟哆天者天壽天色天譽, 以此故諸兜瑟哆天歡喜踴躍, 歎此天子甚奇甚特, 有大如意足, 有大威德, 有大福祐, 有大威神……是世尊未曾有法。] (5)

3. "'*Ānando, the future Buddha is mindful and conscious when he vanishes from the Tusitā body, and descends into his mother's womb.*'(6)

(2) Repetitions similar to those italicised in the above paragraph occur at the beginning and the end of the eighteen statements which follow. They are here numbered for convenience. Nos. 3 to 18 are substantially identical with the passage in **Dīgha** 14 (長阿大本經) translated by me from Pāli. (**The Marvellous Birth of the Buddhas**: Philadelphia, 1899, pp. 5–11.) Passages or phrases found in other parts of the Pāli Canon are also italicised. They prove that the Nativity document is one of the ancient strata of the Scriptures. (See my note in *The Open Court*: June, 1899.)

(3) One of the spheres of the *devaloko* or angel world. The word *body* may also be rendered *host*, i.e. *angelic society*.

(4) Conversation of the monks and other things are omitted in the Chinese, and the birth of Kāçyapa Buddha (迦葉佛) in the Tusitā (兜瑟哆) is repeated. All is spoken by Ānando. (A. M.)

(5) The superiority of the Buddha Kāçyapa as an angel to the other angels in the Tusitā is here spoken of. (A. M.)

(6) Statement No. 3 occurs in the **Decease-Book III. 15.** (長阿遊行經, 戾九 13 b.) The words *Descent of the Lord* (Bhagavato okranti) occur among the Bharahat inscriptions in India (third or second century B. C.) as the title of a sculpture representing the incarnation.

4. "'Ānando, *when the future Buddha vanishes from the Tusitā body, and descends into his mother's womb, then, in the world of the angels, together with those of Māro and Brahmā, and unto the race of philosophers and Brahmins, princes and peoples, there appears a splendour, limitless and eminent, transcending the angelic might of the angels. And even in the boundless realms of space, with their darkness upon darkness, where yonder sun and moon, so magical, so mighty, are felt not in the sky,—there too appears the splendour limitless and eminent, transcending the very might of the angels, so that beings who are born there*[7] *observe among themselves, by reason of that splendour: 'Friend, it is said that other beings are born here,* and this myriad-fold universe quakes and shakes and tremendously trembles: a splendour limitless and eminent appears in the world transcending even the angelic might of the angels.'

世尊在兜瑟哆天, 於彼命終, 終知入母胎。——是時震動一切天地, 以大妙光普照世間, 乃至幽隱諸闇冥處無有障蔽, 謂此日月, 有大如意 …… 彼衆生者因此妙光, 各各生知, 有奇特衆生 …… 是世尊未曾有法。

5. "'Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother's womb, the four sons of the angels, who keep watch over the four quarters, approach him and say: "Neither mortal nor demon shall harm the future Buddha or his mother.'

6. "'Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother's womb, she is pure from sexuality,[8] has abstained

(7) This passage, down to "born here," with slight variations, occurs in the **Numerical Collection, IV. 127.** The substance of it is also in the Sanskrit of the **Divyāvadāna,** p. 204.

Māro, the Buddhist Tempter, is not purely evil, like the Zoroastrian Devil, but an angel in good standing, being the ruler of the highest sphere of devos, immediately below the seraphic Brahma-heaven. Karl Neumann regards him as the equivalent of the Greek Pan.

The house was full of light at the birth of Moses, according to the Talmud, (Wünsche: Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrash: 1878, p. 14.) Before the birth of Zoroaster the village "became all luminous." (S. B. E. XLVII. p. 30). Wünsche compares with the Talmudic birth-light the star in Matthew II.

The book of the **Great Decease, III. 15,** has: "then *this* earth rocks and *quakes and shakes and tremendously trembles.*" This betrays a later origin for our present Sutta and its fellow (**Dīgha 14**) where the earthquake is extended to the whole universe.

(8) Diogenes Laërtius on the birth of Plato: "Then she kept her pure of marriage until the birth." (**Lives of the Philosophers,** Book 3.) This abstinence, ascribed to the mother of Plato, we know from the context to imply

from taking life, from theft, from evil conduct in lusts, from lying, and from all kinds of wine and strong drink, which are a cause of irreligion.'

7. "'Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother's womb, there arises not in his mother any lustful intent toward men, and she is inviolable by the impure thought of any man.'[9]

8. "'Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother's womb, she is possessed of the five pleasures of the senses; she is surrounded by, established in, and endowed with the five pleasures of the senses.'

我聞世尊, 知住母胎依倚右脇 .....舒體住母胎, 覆藏住母胎, 不爲血所汙, 亦不爲精及諸不淨所汙.....是世尊未曾有法。..... 我聞世尊舒體出母胎, ... 覆藏出母胎不爲血所汙, 亦不爲精及諸不淨所汙.....是世尊未曾有法。[10]

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a divine paternity, such as that which is the subject of the *Ion* of Euripides. The abstinence of Gotamo's mother, on the other hand, implies no such thing, but merely refers to the period of gestation. Such abstinence is enjoined in the **Institutes of Vishnu, LXIX. 17**, and was also observed by the Essenes. (Josephus, **Wars** II., VIII. 13). It is a familiar practice of Oriental hygiene. Moreover, Gotamo is credited with parents (**Milindo IV. 4. 11**, quoted from some Sutta not known to Rhys Davids in 1890.) Nevertheless, in the **Lalita Vistara** the doctrine of a supernatural birth is certainly implied: the queen-mother abstains for thirty-two months before the Nativity. (Foucaux's translation from the Sanskrit: Paris, 1884, pp. 29, 44). Here also we find the myth about birth from the right side, quoted by Jerome. The Lalita Vistara's date is unknown, but the cycle of legends therein was known in China in the first century, from a Buddhist source. (**S.B.E. XIX.**, p. XVII).

The words in italics constitute the first five prohibitions in the Buddhist Ten Commandments. It will thus be seen that the Buddhists believe in something analogous to the Immaculate Conception, but not in the Virginal Birth—two doctrines that are often confused. On abstinence from wine, compare John the Baptist: Luke I. 15.

On the other hand, the Buddhist Docetists (*Lokottaravādino*) maintained that Gotamo's son Rāhulo was miraculously born, having descended from heaven into his mother's womb, without human paternity. (**Mahāvastu**, Vol. I., pp. 152, 154: Paris, 1882.)

(9) Rhys Davids, in The International Quarterly (Burlington, Vermont, 1903) has suggested that this statement may have been the germ of the later myth of a Virginal Birth.

(10) Statement No. 5. is not found in the Chinese. We find there more repetitions than in the Pāli and the things ascribed not to the mother but to the baby in womb and coming out of it. In the womb the baby Buddha lies on the right side. (A. M.)

9. "' Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother's womb, she has no sickness at all, but is happy, with her body free from pain, and sees the future Buddha transparently in the womb (literally, gone across the womb) in full possession of all his limbs and faculties. Even as a cat's eye gem, Ānando, being radiant, fine, octagonal and well wrought, is therefore strung upon a dark blue string, or upon a tawny, or a red, or a white, or a yellow string, so that any man with eyes, upon taking it in his hand, may reflect: "This cat's eye gem, being radiant &c.....is therefore strung upon this dark-blue string, or ..... yellow string,..... even so, Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother's womb, she has no sickness at all, but is happy, with her body free from pain, and sees him transparently in the womb, in full possession of all his limbs and faculties."' (11)

我聞世尊，初生之時，有四天子，手執極細衣，住於母前令母歡喜，此童子甚奇甚特，有大如意足……是世尊未曾有法。(12)

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10. "' Ānando, *seven days after the birth of the future Buddha, his mother departs this life, and is born with the Tusitā body.*' (13)

11. "' Moreover, Ānando, while other women bring forth after a gestation of nine or ten months, the future Buddha's mother does not act in the usual way with him: just *ten months* does she carry the future Buddha before she brings him forth.'(14)

12. "' Moreover, Ānando, while other women bring forth sitting or lying down, the future Buddha's mother does not bring him forth in the usual way: she actually brings him forth standing.'

13. "' Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, princes are the first to receive him, and common folk afterwards.' (15)

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(11) The detail about painless child-birth is in the apocryphal gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, Chapter 13; so also is the one below, No. 15. *Nulla sanguinis effusio in nascente, nullus dolor in parturiente,* are the words. Standing on his feet (No. 17) is there too.

(12) This statement is, probably erroneously confounded with statement 13, ascribed to the birth of the Buddha. (A. M.)

(13) These words occur, but in the plural, in **Udāna V. 2.**

(14) Suetonius on Augustus, 94; Virgil. **Eclogue 4.**

(15) The words rendered "princes" and "common folk" are literally *angels* and *human beings*. It is thus easy to see how these Oriental tropes can give rise to mythology.

14. "'Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, he does not touch the earth: four sons of the princes [or, angels] receive him and present him to his mother. 'May Your Majesty be blessed,' they say: 'unto you is born an eminent son.'"[16]

15. "'Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, he leaves it quite clean, undefiled with matter or blood,[17] but pure, clean, and undefiled by any impurity. As in the case, Ānando, of a gem or a jewel laid in Benāres cloth, the gem or jewel does not defile the Benāres cloth at all, nor the Benāres cloth the jewel or the gem, (and why?—because they both are pure): even so, Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, &c. .....undefiled by any impurity.'[18]

16. "'Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, there appear two showers of water from the sky,—one of cool water, and the other of warm, to supply the needed water for the future Buddha and his mother.'

我聞, 世尊初生之時, [則於母前而生大池, 其水滿岸, 令母於此得用清淨 .....] 初生之時, 上虛空中雨水注下, 一冷一暖, 灌世尊身。[19]

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17. "'Ānando, the new-born future Buddha stands sheer upright on his feet, walks northwards with a seven-paced stride, with a white canopy[20] held over him, and looking forth in all directions, utters the bull-like speech: "I am the chief in the world, I am the best in the world, I am the eldest in the world. *This is my last existence: I shall now be born no more.*"'

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(16) Cf. **Luke I. 28.** "May Your Majesty be blessed" is literally: "Goddess, be thou blessed." The word *god* or *angel* was always used in addressing kings and queens. "Yes, God," in the Jātaka Book, means "Yes, Your Majesty."

Cf. also the birth of Zoroaster: "Unto him is born at his house a brilliant man-(child)." (**S.B.E. XLVII,** pp. 31.)

(17) There is a third word here, *uddena*, which I cannot translate. *Udlo* means generally an aquatic animal.

(18) Statements Nos. 10–15 are not found in the Chinese. (A. M.)

(19) These statements occur in the Chinese after the passage corresponding to No. 17. The first part states the pond in which the mother purifies herself. The second agrees exactly with No. 16. (A. M.)

(20) "Canopy" seems to me a more dignified translation than "parasol" or "umbrella": it is an emblem of royalty. The Jātaka commentary says that the god Brahmā held it! The words italicised occur in Gotamo's first sermon. (**S.B.E. XI.**, pp. 153; XIII, pp. 97.)

我聞 世尊初生之時，即行七步，不恐不怖亦不畏懼，觀察諸方……是世尊未曾有法。(21)

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18. "'Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, then in the world of the angels, together with those of Māro and Brahmā, and unto the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples, there appears a splendour limitless and eminent, transcending the angelic might of the angels; and even in the boundless realms of space, with their darkness upon darkness, where yonder sun and moon, so magical, so mighty, are felt not in the sky, there too appears the splendour limitless and eminent, transcending the very might of the angels, so that beings who are born there consider among themselves by reason of that splendour: 'Friend, it is said that other beings are born here, and this myriad-fold universe quakes and shakes and tremendously trembles: a splendour limitless and eminent appears in the world, transcending even the angelic might of the angels.'"(22)

19. "'Therefore, Ānando, do thou hold this also to be a wonderful and marvellous quality of the Tathāgato: namely, that his sensations are known (or, perceived) when they arise, known when they continue, and known when they decline. Known are his ideas when they arise; his reflections are known when they arise, and known when they decline. Therefore, Ānando, do thou hold this also to be a wonderful and marvellous quality of the Tāthagato.'

"This fact also, Lord, that the sensations of the Lord are known when they arise, known when they continue, and known when they decline; that his ideas are known.....that his reflections are known.....this also, Lord, I hold to be a wonderful and marvellous quality of the Lord."

Thus spake the venerable Ānando. The Master assented, and the monks were rapt and rejoiced at the utterance of the venerable Ānando.

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(21) Here the words of the utterance are wanting. After this passage there are enumerated various flowers showering down from heaven to the ground where the baby Buddha was born. Cf. Parall 3. Note 4. (A. M.)

(22) End of agreement with the Dīgha Sutta. In saying that these documents are later than the Decease Book, I do not mean to impugn their high antiquity. They are probably the work of the second generation of disciples, i.e. counting from the death of Gotamo.

(Here ends) the Dialogue on Wonders and Marvels, third (in a particular subdivision of the Middling Collection.)[23]

* * * * * * *

3. Angelic Heralds and the Prophecy of an Aged Saint.

Luke II. 8—40. (路加傳二章八一四〇)

And there were shepherds in the same country abiding in the field, and keeping watch by night over their flock. And an angel of the Lord stood by them, and the glory of the Lord shone around about them: and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them, Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people: for there is born to you this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.

And this is the sign unto you; Ye shall find a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and lying in a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying:

Glory to God in the highest,

And on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased.

And it came to pass, when the angels went away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing that is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. And they came with haste, and found both Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in the manger. And when they saw it, they made known concerning the saying which was spoken to them about this child. And all that heard it wondered at the things which were spoken unto them by the shepherds. But Mary kept all these sayings, pondering them in her heart. And the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen, even as it was spoken unto them.

And when eight days were fulfilled for circumcising him, his name was called Jesus, which was so called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.

(23) In the Chinese the last part of this sutta is wanting and instead of it other marvels in Buddha's life, as for instance, shade of a tree not removing from Buddha's seat, are stated. (A. M.)

And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were fulfilled, they brought him up to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord,) and to offer a sacrifice, according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, a pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons.

And behold there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and this man was righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it had been revealed unto him by the Holy Spirit, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came in the Spirit into the Temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might do concerning him after the custom of the law, then he received him into his arms, and blessed God, and said,

Now lettest thou thy servant depart, O Lord,
According to thy word, in peace;
For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,
Which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples;
A light for revelation to the Gentiles,
And the glory of thy people Israel.

And his father and his mother were marvelling at the things which were spoken concerning him; and Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this (child) is set for the falling and rising up of many in Israel; and for a sign which is spoken against; yea and a sword shall pierce through thine own soul; that thoughts out of many hearts may be revealed. And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher (she was of a great age, having lived with a husband seven years from her virginity, and she had been a widow even for fourscore and four years), which departed not from the temple, worshipping with fastings and supplications night and day. And coming up at that very hour she gave thanks unto God, and spake of him to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem. And when they had accomplished all things that were according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

And the child grew, and waxed strong, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him.

Collection of Discourses (Sutta Nipāto)

Stanzas 679—700.

(Translated by Vincent Fausböll of Copenhagen, the Nestor of Pāli scholars, in **Sacred Books of the East, Vol. X**, Part 2, p. 124 seq.)

S. P. 1. 過去現在因果經一 (N. C. No. 666, 辰十 6 b—7 a)
2. 修行本起經上 (N. C. No. 664, 辰十 30 a)
3. 衆許摩訶帝經 (N. C. No. 869, 辰十 83 a)(1)

Joyful and ecstatic, in thirteen troops,
Sakko and Indo and angels white-stoled,
Seizing their robes and sounding high praises,
Did Asito the hermit see in noonday rest.

Seeing the angels with minds rejoicing and delighted,
He made obeisance and forthwith spake thus:
Why is the assembly of the angels exceedingly pleased?
Wherefore do ye seize your robes and wave them?

"When there was a battle with the devils,
A victor for the angels and the devils defeated,
Then there was not such astonishment:
What portent is it the deities have seen that they rejoice?

"They shout and sing and make music,
They whirl their arms and dance:
I ask you, O dwellers upon Meru's height,
Remove my doubt quickly, O venerable ones!"

[The angels answer:]

(1) These three texts which seem to have supplied materials for the composition of the Lalita Vistara or must have descended from the same source as the latter have their respective corresponding passages to these stanzas of the Sutta Nipāto. No. 1, gives the conversation between Asito and angels in prose as narrated by Asito himself to King Çuddhodana. This corresponds to stanzas 679-684.

The following part is much abridged in No. 1.

In No. 2, there is no conversation between Asito and angels nor narration about it. He sees many wonders and comes down from his mountain abode to Kapilavastu. The following part, stanzas 685–694, is given partly in prose and partly in verse. This text mentions not Asito's nephew.

The name of the nephew (or disciple) is given in No. 3, as Nārada (or Nārana? 曩羅那, Nāradatta in Lalita Vistara, Nara-kumāra 那羅童子 in 大莊嚴經). Stanzas 695-700 do not agree literally with the passage in No. 3 but in substance. (A. M.)

"The Bodhisat, the best incomparable gem,
Is born for weal and welfare in the world of men,
In the town of the Sākyas, in the region of Lumbinī,
Therefore are we glad and exceedingly pleased.

"He, the highest of all beings, the head-person,
The chief[2] of men, the highest of all creatures,
Will set rolling the wheel [of religion]
in the hermit-named forest,
Like the roaring mighty lion mastering the deer."[3]

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[1] 仙人答言,
我在香山見大光明諸奇特相。……
聞上諸天說,——
皇太子必當成一切種智,度脫天人。〔又王太子從右脇生,墮於七寶蓮花之上而行七步,舉其右手而師子吼
"我於天人之中,最尊最勝無量生死於今盡矣,此生利益一切天人"〕[4]
又復諸天圍繞恭敬,聞有如此大奇特事,快哉,大王宜應欣慶……

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[2] 香山有道士,名阿夷,中夜覺天地大動,觀見光輝赫非常。……阿夷念言,"世間有佛,應現此瑞,今世濁惡,何故有此吉祥瑞應。" (continued to the next section)

Hearing that sound, he came down
from the Heaven of Content,
And entered Suddhodano's abode:
There seated he addressed the Sākyas thus:
Where is the[5] prince? I desire to see him."

There was the prince like glowing gold,
Very skillfully wrought in the forge's mouth,
Blazing in glory and the lofty air of beauty:
Unto him named Asito the Sākyas shewed their son.

---

(2) Literally, bull.

(3) Gotamo's first Sermon was in the Deer Park near Benāres.

(4) This part corresponding to the last stanza above translated agrees perfectly with statement 17 of the parallel No. 2. (above p. 59). (A. M.)

(5) This word may also be rendered "boy."

Seeing the prince aglow like flame,
Pure as the chief of stars wandering in the sky,
Like the burning sun in autumn free from clouds,
He joyfully obtained great delight.

The angels held in air a canopy,
Many-branched and thousand-ringed:
Chowries with golden staves were fanned;
Unseen were they who carried the chowries and the canopy.

The hermit with matted hair, called Kaṇhasiri,
When he saw the yellow trapping bright as a golden piece,
And the white canopy held over his head,
Received him delighted and happy.

But when he had received the chief[6] of the Sākyas,—
He who was wishing for him, and knew
the signs and the Hymns,
With placid thoughts gave utterance to the speech:
"This is the unrivalled One, the highest among bipeds."[7]

Then, remembering his own migration,
He was suddened and shed tears.
Seeing this, the Sākyas asked the weeping hermit
Whether there were danger for the Prince.

Seeing the Sākyas sad, the hermit spake:
"I remember naught unhappy for the Prince:
There will be no danger at all for him;
He is no ordinary being. Be not dismayed.

"This Prince will reach the summit of perfect
enlightenment:
Seeing supernal purity, he will set rolling
the wheel of the Doctrine,
Out of pity for the weal of the multitude,
And his religion will be prosperous.

(6) Literally *Bull*.

(7) I prefer to be literal here, at the expense of a Western smile, because the association of men with animals is thoroughly Buddhistic.

"My life below will not be long,
And the midst of it all my appointed time will come:
I shall not hear the Doctrine of the peerless leader;
Therefore am I afflicted, unfortunate, and suffering."

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[2]

天踰飛到迦維衛國,〔未及國城,四十里外忽然落地,心甚驚喜,"此必有佛,於我無疑。" 步詣宮門。門監白王"阿夷在門。" 王愕然 ……。〕阿夷言,"聞大王夫人生太子故來瞻省。"

勅其內人抱太子出…… [2] (太子身色光焰猶如眞金,有諸相好,極爲明淨。)

…. 阿夷敬太子,便悚然蓋知至尊,…見奇相三十二,八十種好,身如金剛,殊妙難量,悉如祕藏。

……淚下哽咽,悲不能言。時王惶怖請問,"太子有不祥乎,吉凶願告,幸勿有疑。"

〔阿夷自抑制,即說偈言,〕——

今生大聖人　除世諸災患
傷我自無福　七日當命終　不見神變化　說法雨世間
今與太子別　是故自悲泣。…

Having given much gladness to the Sākyas,
From the midst of the town he went forth
to the life of religion.
Taking pity on his nephew,
He caused him to accept the Doctrine of the peerless leader.

"Then thou hearest from others a rumour,
saying 'Buddha,'—
One who hath reached perfect enlightenment
and walketh the way of the Doctrine,—
Go thither thyself, and enquire thereon,
And lead the life of religion with that Blessed One."

Instructed by him, the friendly-minded,
By him who hath seen in the future the superlative purity,
That same Nālako, with an accumulation of merit,
Dwelt in watchfulness over his faculties,
looking forward to the Victor.

Hearing a voice while the Victor set
rolling the excellent wheel,
He went and saw the chiefest[8] of hermits;
The excellent sage, he asked about the best sagacity,
When the time was come whereof
he had been instructed by him called Asito

End of the theme-verses.[9]

This speech is acknowledged
To be Asito's exactly:
Therefore I enquire of thee, O Gotamo,
Who art perfect in all doctrine.

Unto me who go houseless,
Wishing for the mendicant life,
Explain to me when asked, O sage!
Sagacity, the highest path.

---

[3] 時阿私陀辭國王已，隨意前行，往枳瑟計駄，即住山中修習禪定。……

師（告弟子）曰，"……今有淨飯王子名悉達多。……彼出家一心梵行而求出離。〔莫作族姓之相及我人相，〕即得成就無爲之法。……"

爾時仙人說此偈已，曩羅那感師悔。……

即往婆羅奈國，……即往所希聞法要。

同時曩羅那……佛爲開示法要，得寂滅，乃名大迦底。

[Kellogg, in his *Light of Asia and Light of the World* (London, 1885) disparages the parallel between Asito and Simeon (Luke II.) destroying it detail by detail. But he overlooks the connection of Asito with the account of the angelic heralds. It is this organic connection which establishes the parallel between the Nālaka Sutta and the Second of Luke.]

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(8) Literally, bull.

(9) The King of Siam has "theme-narrative."

PART II.

INITIATION AND COMMENCEMENT.

* * * * * * *

4. Fasting, and Angelic Ministration.

Matthew IV. 2 and 11. (馬太傳四のニと十一)

And when he fasted forty days and forty nights, he afterwards hangered..... Then the devil leaveth him; and behold, angels came and ministered unto him,

Luke IV. 2. (路加傳四のニ)

And he did eat nothing in those days.

Mark I. 13. (馬加傳一の十三)

And he was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him.

Middling Collection No. 36.

(Translated into German by Neumann, Die Reden Vol. I. pp. 389. f.)

Then, O Aggivessano, the angels (*devetā*) saw me and said: "The philosopher Gotamo is dead." Other angels said: "He is not dead, but he is dying." Others again said: "He is neither dead nor dying, but an Arahat is the philosopher Gotamo: such a mode of life is only that of an Arahat." Then, Aggivessano, I thought: "What if I now fast entirely?" Forthwith there came unto me angels who said: "O worthy One, do not so, fast not entirely. But if thou do, we will instil angelic sap[1] through thy pores: so shalt thou remain alive."

(1) Neumann has "dew" (*Thau*).

Then, Aggivessano, I thought: "If now I were to fast entirely, these angels would instil angelic sap through my pores, and I should thus remain alive, which on my part would be false." And then, Aggivessano, I cried back to the angels and said: "It is enough."

S.P. 衆許摩訶帝經 [2] (N.C. No. 859, 辰十 89b)

〔菩薩 自思念, 我於今後斷絕飲食。〕 時有天子, 遙見已觀知, 告菩薩言, "我此色身毛乳之內 [3] 而有天上細妙珍食, 堪充供養"。 菩薩告曰, "如今所食〔非葷辛,〕出汝身亦非清淨。....."

[Dr. Aiken was unfortunate in not using the Majjhima-Nikāyo when discussing the subject of the fast. (*Dhamma of Gotamo*, p. 204). He charges Seydel with doing violence to the legend by making the fast precede the Enlightenment, and he appeals to the Mahāvaggo in support of his charge. It is true, the Mahāvaggo relates that Gotamo sat in meditation under different trees for twenty-eight days after the Enlightenment, (presumably without eating), but the fast in question is the one related by Gotamo himself in our present text, and it *preceded* the Enlightenment.]

* * * * * * *

5. Illumination.

Mark I. 9-11. (馬加傳一の九—十一)

(Translated from the text of Westcott and Hort.)

And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth to Galilee, and was baptized of John in the Jordan. And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens rent asunder, and the spirit as a dove descending INTO him: and a voice came out of the heavens, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.

Justin Martyr, A. D. 150, reads: "Thou art my beloved Son: THIS DAY HAVE I BEGOTTEN THEE." (*Trypho*, 88).

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(2) As far as I know there is in the Chinese no text corresponding to the Middling No. 36. Here I take a passage similar to that. (A. M.)

(3) The Devatā (or Devaputra) says: "There is fine heavenly food and drink here in my pores." (A. M.)

Luke III. 22. (路加傳三の二十二)

(Translated from the Cambridge Codex,(1) sixth century).

And the Holy Ghost descended INTO him in a bodily form, as a dove; and there was a voice out of the heaven: Thou art my son: THIS DAY HAVE I BEGOTTEN THEE.

[The writer to the Hebrews, when using the same words (Heb. I. 5) is quoting the Second Psalm, but there is just a possibility that he also had in mind the original Gospel reading of the words uttered at the Baptism. They agree in idea with the other reading given above: that, at the Illumination (as baptism was called among the early Christians) the Spirit "entered *into*" Jesus, i.e. his spiritual birth then took place. But when the doctrine of the virginal conception supplanted this earlier and simpler one, the word ἐπι, *upon*, was substituted for εἰς, *into*; and it became heresy to maintain that the Holy Ghost entered the Lord at Baptism instead of at conception. Wescott and Hort, and indeed all scientific editors of the Greek text, read εἰς, in Mark I. 10, and I cannot understand why *The Twentieth Century New Testament*, which is generally so faithful to Hort's text, has here perpetuated the King James' translation of "upon." It was doubtless such readings as this in the original Mark that made this Gospel the favorite one with the Unitarian party among the early Christians, as related by Irenæus. (Hær, III. 11.)]

Middling Collection, Dialogue 35.

[After relating how he took food at the end of his fast, entered into the Four Trances (*Jhānas*) and gained the Three Knowledges, viz., insight into his former existences, intromission into the spiritual world, and arrival at the Four Truths about Suffering, Gotamo says:]

This knowledge as the third, o Aggivessano, I reached in the last watch of the night; ignorance was dissipated, knowledge arisen; darkness dissipated, insight arisen, even as it is for one who dwells earnest, ardent and strenuous.

(1) Cambridge fac-simile, 1899, which, with a munificence worthy of a great world centre, the city of Philadelphia has placed freely at the service of scholars.

S. P. 衆許摩訶帝經 (N. C. No. 859, 辰十 91a)

如是思已,無漏智觀速得現前,見修二道頓捨不生,成無上覺。

[This is the regular account of the enlightenment (*Sambodhi*), which recurs in several Dialogues of the Middling Collection, and also at the opening of the Book of Discipline, not yet translated.]

Middling Collection, Dialogue 26.

(Translated into English by Warren: **Buddhism in Translations**, p. 338; and into German by Neumann: **Die Reden Gotamo Buddho's**: Vol. I. p. 366.)

Now, monks, did I wander seeking what was good, searching for the incomparable, supernal path of rest, wandering from place to place in the land of Magadhā, and I proceeded to the fortified town of Uruvelā. There did I see a delightful spot of earth: a pleasant wooded landscape, a clear flowing river, fit to bathe in, delightful, with pasturage around (or, a resort for alms near by.) Then, monks, did I think: "Delightful indeed is this spot of earth; pleasant the wooded landscape; the river flows clear, fit for bathing, delightful, with pasturage around. It is sufficient for the strenuous life unto a noble youth desirous thereof." And I sat down there, saying: "This is sufficient for the strenuous life."

Then, monks, did I, who by myself was subject unto birth, marking the misery thereof, search for and find the birthless incomparable yoga-calm of Nirvāna; marking the misery of decay, disease, death, sorrow and corruption, whereto I was subject, I sought and found the incomparable yoga-calm of Nirvāna, without decay, without disease, deathless, painless, unsullied. Then within me did arise the knowledge and insight:

"Immovable is my emancipation. This is my last existence; I shall now be born no more!"

And I thought, o monks: "I have attained unto this doctrine, which is profound, hard to perceive and understand, quiet, refined, beyond the sphere of reason, recondite, felt only by the wise."

[Then follows Gotamo's hesitation about preaching his religion to the sensual world, and the descent from heaven of the Supreme Brahmā to beseech him to preach it. (See Sacred Books of the East Vol. XIII, pp. 84-86). Like others of our Parallels, the present one is psychologic, not literary: the same mental crisis in the lives of the Masters is meant, and is met by each according to the needs and motions of his country's mind.]

C.T. 中阿 羅摩經 (N.C. No. 204 of No. 542, 戾七 74b).

便求〔無病. . ....無穢汙〕無上安隱涅槃已, 往〔象頭山南〕欝鞞羅梵志村〔名曰斯那〕。於彼中地至可愛樂, 山林欝茂,〔尼連禪〕河清流盈岸。 我見彼已便作念 "此地至可愛樂, 山林欝茂,〔尼連禪〕河清流盈岸。 若族姓子欲有學者可於中學。 我亦當學... ...於此中學。" 〔即持草往詣覺樹。〕 到已布下尼師檀結跏趺坐....." 我便不解坐至得漏盡。" 我求無病無上安隱涅槃, 便得無病無上安隱涅槃, 求無老, 無死, 無愁憂惑無穢汙無上安隱涅槃, 便得無老, 無死, 無愁憂惑無穢汙無上安隱涅槃。生知生見定, 道定道品法,

"生已盡, 梵行已立, 所作已辦, 不便受有
知如眞知, 我初覺無上正盡覺 .....。

* * * * * * *

6. Temptations of Empire and Power to transmute Matter.

Luke IV. 3-8. (路加傳四の三—八)

And the devil said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, command this stone that it become bread. And Jesus answered unto him, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone. And he led him up and showed him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, To thee will I give all this authority and the glory of them: for it hath been delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it. If thou therefore wilt worship before me, it shall all be thine. And Jesus answered and said unto him, It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.

[Luke again agrees with the Pāli by associating these two temptations, whereas Matthew dissociates them].

Book of Temptations. *Chapter on Dominion.*

(Translated in substance by Oldenberg, in his *Buddha*: English edition, 1882, p. 312. Windisch translates fully, together with the whole of the Book of Temptations, in his *Māra und Buddha*: Leipzig, 1895.)

At one season the Lord was staying in the land of the Kosalā, among the Himālayas, in a log-hut. While thus living in hermitage retired, the reflection arose within him: "It is really possible to exercise dominion by righteousness, without slaying or causing slaughter; without oppression or the making thereof; without sorrow or the infliction thereof."

Then Māro, the Evil One, perceived in his heart the thought which had arisen in the heart of the Lord and he approached the Lord and spake thus: "Lord, may the Lord exercise dominion; may the Auspicious One exercise dominion by righteousness without slaying or causing slaughter; without oppression or the making thereof; without sorrow or the infliction thereof."

"What seest thou in me, O Evil One, that thou speakest thus to me?"

"Lord, the Lord has practised the four principles of psychical power, has developed them, made them active and practical, pursued them, accumulated, and striven to the height thereof. So, Lord, if the Lord desired, he could turn the Himālaya, the monarch of mountains, into very gold, and gold would the mountain be.

"The whole of a mountain of gold, of fine gold,
Twofold, were not enough for one,
Let him who knoweth this govern his life.
He who hath seen Pain and whence its rise,
How could such a one bow to lusts?
He who knoweth that the substratum of existence is
what is called in the world 'attachment',
Let that man train himself in the subdual thereof."

Then Māro, the Evil One said: "The Lord knows me; the Auspicious One knows me." And he vanished thence, unhappy and disconsolate.

C. T. 雜阿三十九 (N.C. No. 544, 辰四 27-28).

一時佛住〔釋氏石主釋氏聚落〕。爾時世尊獨一靜處禪思思惟作是念，"頗有作王能得不殺，不教人殺，一向行法，不行非法耶。"

時魔破句〔作是念，今沙門瞿曇……作是念……我今當往爲其說法，化作年少〕往住佛前作是言，"如是世尊，如是善逝，可得王不殺生，不教人殺，一向行法不行非法，世尊今可作王，善逝今可作王"……

"汝魔破句，何故作是言"……

〔魔白佛言〕"世尊今有四如意修習多修令雪山王變爲眞金如意不異。……"

〔佛告波句，我都無心欲作國王，云何當作，我亦無心欲令雪山王變爲眞金，何由而變，爾時世尊即說偈言〕

"正使有眞金　如雪山王者　一人得此金
亦復不知是　是故智慧者　金石同一觀。"

時魔波句作是念，"沙門瞿曇已知我心。"內懷憂惱，即沒不現。

* * * * * * *

7. Messianic Prophecy: Art thou the Coming One?

Luke VII. 16-19. (路加傳七の十六—十九)

(Here again Luke is closer to the Pali than the parallel in Matthew XI.)

And fear took hold on all: and they glorified God, saying A great prophet is arisen among us: and, God hath visited his people. And this report went forth concerning him in the whole of Judæa, and all the region round about.

And the disciples of John told him of all these things. And John calling unto him two of his disciples sent them to the Lord, saying, Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another.

Long Collection, Dialogue No. 3.

(Translated by Rhys Davids; **Dialogues of the Buddha**, 1899, p. 109.)

Now at that season a young Brahmin of the Ambaṭṭho [clan] was a pupil under the Brahmin Pokkharasādi, and he was a reciter, knowing by heart the Vedic Hymns,(1) master of the three Vedas, &c.....

And Pokkharasādi the Brahmin addressed the young brahmin Ambaṭṭho, saying: "Dear Ambaṭṭho, this philosopher Gotamo, the Sākya man, who has gone forth as a hermit from a Sākya family, is wandering about in the land of the Kosalā with

(1) *Mantadharo*, literally, "carrying the Mantras."

a great congregation of monks, with some five hundred monks, and has arrived at Icchānankala, where he is staying in the grove of that name. Now regarding that Gotamo, the following glorious report has gone abroad: That Blessed one is a Holy One, a supremely Enlightened One, endowed with wisdom and conduct; auspicious, knowing the universe; an incomparable charioteer of men who are tamed, a Master of angels and mortals, a Blessed Buddha. What he has realized by his own supernal knowledge he publishes to this universe, with its angels, its fiends and its archangels, and to the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples. He preaches his religion, glorious in its origin, glorious at the climax, glorious at the goal, in the spirit and the letter. He proclaims a religious life wholly perfect and thoroughly pure; and good is it to pay visits to such holy one. Come, now, dear Ambaṭṭho, go to the philosopher Gotamo, and find out whether the report gone abroad regarding him be true or not: whether Gotamo be such as they say or not. In this way we shall get to know about him."

C. T. 長阿 阿晝摩經 (N.C. No. 545, 戾九 67).

沸伽羅婆婆羅門……弟子名阿晝摩, ……三部舊典諷誦通利, 種々經書能分別 ……。

時沸伽羅婆婆羅門, "聞沙門瞿曇, 釋種子出家成道, 與大比丘衆千二百五十人, 俱至伊車能伽羅……止伊車林中。 有大名稱流聞天下, 如來至眞正等覺〔十號具足〕。 於諸天世人魔若魔天沙門婆羅門中, 自身作證爲他說法, 上中下善, 義味具足. 梵行清淨, 如是眞人應往親覲……〔即命弟子阿晝摩而告之曰〕"汝往觀彼 ……。"

"But Sir, how shall I know whether Gotamo be so or not?"

"Ambaṭṭha, there have come down in our Vedic Hymns thirty-two marks of a Great Soul,[2] and to any great soul possessed there of only two destinies are possible: If he adopt the domestic life, he will become a king, a righteous world-ruler, a king of righteousness; victorious to the shores of the four seas, arrived at the security of his country, and possessed of the seven treasures, which are these: the Wheel (or, Empire), the Elephant

(2) Or, Ideal Manhood. Compare "the Son of Humanity" of Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels.

the Horse, the Gem, the Woman, the Treasurer, and, for the seventh, the Counsellor. He will have more than a thousand sons, heroes, of mighty frame, crushers of alien armies. He will dwell in this ocean-girt earth overcoming it, staffless and swordless, by righteousness.(3) But if, on the other hand, he go forth from the domestic life into the homeless one, he will become a Holy One, a fully Enlightened One, who lifts the veil from the world.(4)

〔阿耆摩尋白師言〕"我以何驗觀瞿曇相知其虛實。"

〔師即報曰〕"今我語汝——若有具足三十二大人相者必趣二處無有疑也。若在家當爲轉輪聖王,王四天下,以法治化統領民物,七寶具足,一金輪寶,二白象寶,三紺馬寶,四神珠寶,五玉女寶,六居士寶,七典兵寶。……天下泰平國內民物無所畏懼。若其不樂世間,出家求道,當成如來至眞正覺〔十號具足〕。……"

[We here see that the Hindū Messianic prophecy, like the Hebrew, left it uncertain whether the Coming One was to be a temporal or a spiritual potentate. We may also observe that, just as in the New Testament,(5) we find oracles quoted as if from sacred writ which are not found therein, so, too, in the Buddhist Scriptures, there are oracles, like our present one, not found in the canon of the Vedas.]

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8. Looking for Messiah.

Luke X. 23-24. (路加傳十の二十三及四)

And turning to the disciples, he said privately, Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see: for I say unto you, that many prophets and kings desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and to hear things which ye hear, and heard them not.

(3) Cf. Isaiah XI. 4.

(4) Cf. Mark IV. 22.

(5) For instance, Mark IX. 13, an uncanonical prophecy about Elijah, which Rendel Harris has found in a collection of Jewish lore, ascribed to Philo, published at Basle in 1527.

Matth. XIII. 16-17. (馬太傳十三の十六及十七)

But blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear. For verily I say unto you, that many prophets and righteous men desired to see the things which, ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.

(Cf. also **Luke II. 25-38.**)

Major Section on Discipline, I. 22.

(Translated in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, p. 140).

Now Seniyo Bimbisāro, the king of Magadhā, having seen and grasped and known and penetrated the truth, having passed beyond all doubt and cavil, having gained full confidence, dependent upon no one for the Master's holy lore, spake thus unto the Lord:

"Lord, in the days when I was a prince, I had five wishes, and they are now fulfilled. I wished that I might be inaugurated as king (literally, *sprinkled for the sovereignty*). This, Lord, was my first wish, and now it is fulfilled. And then might the Holy Supreme Buddha descend into my kingdom. This, Lord, was my second wish, and this is now fulfilled. And might I reverently approach the presence of that Lord. This, Lord, was my third wish, and this is now fulfilled. And might that Lord preach his religion unto me. This was my fourth wish, and this is now fulfilled. And might I understand the religion of that Lord. This was my fifth wish, and now it is fulfilled."

C.T. 四分律三十三 (N.C. No. 1117. 列五 16 a)[6]

瓶沙王見法得, 前白佛言,

"自念昔日爲太子時心生六願。 一者, 〔若父壽終〕我登位爲王。———二者當我治國時願佛出世。———三者, 使我身見世尊。———〔四者設我見佛已生歡喜心於如來所〕。 五者〔已發歡喜心〕得聞正法。———六者聞法已尋得信解。———今我……得登位爲王, 然我治國正值佛出世, 今復自見佛, 〔見佛已發歡喜心, 於佛所已發歡喜心〕便得聞法, 聞法已便得信解。

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(6) The Mahīçāsaka Vinaya 五分律 omits this story. Our text quoted here from the Dharmagupta Vinaya counts six wishes, fourth of which expresses the wish to become delighted with the interview with the Buddha. (A.M.)

Middling Collection, Dialogue 130.

(Translated from the parallel passage in the Numerical Collection by Henry C. Warren: *Buddhism in Translations*, 1896, p. 258).

In a former existence, O monks, King Yamo thought to himself: "All those, alas! who do wicked deeds in the world must suffer such manifold retribution! Oh, that I may become a man, and a Tathāgato arise in the world, a Holy Supreme Buddha; and that I may sit at the feet of the Lord, and the Lord may preach his religion unto me, and I understand the religion of the Lord!"

Now this, O monks, that I speak, I heard not from any one else, whether philosopher or brahmin; but, monks, what I myself have known and seen and understood, that alone I speak.

Thus spake *the Lord*.

C.T. 中阿 天使經 (N.C. No. 64 of No. 542. 戾五 73).

昔者閻主〔在園觀中而〕作是願,

"彼衆生……受如是……苦報。……我〔此命終〕生於人中, ……如來所說正法之律, 願得淨信。……"——佛如是說。

PART III.

MINISTRY AND ETHICS.

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9. The Logia.

JESUS SAITH is the formula in the Egyptian Logia-fragment found in 1897, and is of frequent occurrence in the Gospels. The ancient Christian Logia-Book, or primitive Gospel of Matthew mentioned by Papias (Eusebius, H. E. iii. 39) is lost; but the Buddhists are more fortunate in having their Logia-Book extant. It is called the Itivuttaka, that is, the *Thus-Said*. Its antiquity is attested not only by the internal evidence of terseness and simplicity, but by the external evidence that the name itself is one of the ancient Nine Divisions of the Scriptures which antedate the present arrangement of the Pāli Canon. The formulæ of the Itivuttaka are the following:—

1. *This was said by the Lord, said by the Holy One, and heard by me.*

2. *This is the meaning of what the Lord said, and here it is rendered thus* [in verse.]

3 *Exactly this is the meaning spoken by the Lord, and thus it was heard by me.*

These three formulæ accompany each of the first 79 paragraphs (*suttas*) of the Itivuttaka; No. 80 has the first two formulæ only; Nos. 81-88 have none of them; Nos. 89 and 90 have all; Nos. 91-98 have none; Nos. 99-100 have all; Nos 101-111 have none; the closing sutta, No. 112, has all three. Five of the suttas that want the formulæ (Nos. 101, 105, 108, 110, 111) are found in the Numerical Collection, as well as two where they have

been supplied (Nos. 90 and 112). It is therefore probable that the original Itivuttaka has been added to, and this is borne out by the fact that the suttas increase in length towards the end. Moreover, the suttas borrowed from the Numerical Collection all occur *after* No. 80, where the formulæ cease to be regular.(1)

These earlier part of the Itivuttaka appears to be of great antiquity. Its themes are found all through the Canon in a more developed form, but they are here expressed with a terse simplicity and with the solemn deposition in each case that Buddha spoke them.

C.T. 本事經 (N.C. No. 714, 辰六 21-52)(2)

1. 吾從世尊聞如是語,
2. 爾時世尊重攝此義而說頌曰,
3. (Omitted in the Chinese).

* * * * * * *

10. The Golden Rule.

Luke VI. 31. (路加傳六の三十一)

As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.

(1) If it be said that the Aṅguttara borrowed certain suttas because they were numerical, the fact confronts us that Nos. 108 and 110 to 112 are not numerical; while Nos. 1-6, which are not borrowed at all, one would expect to find in the Eka-Nipāto.

(2) The Chinese Itivṛtika contains the following sections and sūtras:

1. Ekanipāta	I. 34, II. 26	60.	
2. Dvinipāta	I. 18, II. 17, III. 14	49.	
3. Trinipāta	I. 13, II. 15	28.	Total 137 sūtras:

Among these we find the following suttas of the Pāli failing in the Chinese.

22 (Ek. III. 2), 43 (Duk. II. 6.),
50-58 (Tik. I. 1-9), 61 (Tik. II. 2.),
63-73 (Tik. II. 4-III. 4.), 75 (Tik. III. 6.),
77-78 (Tik. III. 8-9), 81 (Tik. IV. 2.),
87-88 (Tik. IV. 8-9), 92-94 (Tik. V. 3-5),
96 (Tik. V. 7), 99 (Tik. V. 10), Total 34.

The Catukkanipāta as a whole is wanting in the Chinese, Nevertheless some of its suttas are found in the Chinese, incorporated in other Nipātas. They are:

Pāli 106 (Cat. 7), in Chinese Dvin. II. 17.
„ 107 (Cat. 8), in „ „ II. 8. (A. M.)

Romans XII. 15, 16. (羅馬書十二の十五, 六)

Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one toward another.

Hymns of the Faith, 19 and 130.

(Translated by Max Müller; S. B. E., Vol. X, Part 1, p. 36).

All men tremble at the rod, all men fear death:
Putting oneself[3] in the place of others, kill not nor cause to kill.
All men tremble at the rod, unto all men life is dear:
Doing as one would be done by, kill not nor cause to kill.

C.T. 法句經上[4] (N.C. No. 1365, 藏六 99 a)

一切皆懼死　莫不畏杖痛　恕己可爲譬　勿殺勿行杖

Collection of Discourses, Stanzas 148-150.

(Translated in S. B. E. Vol. X. part 2, p. 25.)
(It is also in the Short Recital, a manual for novices.)

As a mother her own son,
Her only son, at risk of life would guard,
Even so toward all beings
Let one practise infinite sympathy[5]
In all the world;
Let him practise a purpose unbounded,
Above, below and across,
Unhindered, without hate or enmity,
Whether standing, walking or sitting,
Or lying down, so long as he keeps off sloth,
Unto this mindfulness let him devote himself:
This mode of life divine they call.

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(3) ["Putting oneself in the place of others," and "doing as one would be done by," are variant translations of *attānaṃ upamaṃkatvā*, i.e. "having made oneself a likeness." Fernand Hū, in his French translation, renders the phrase each time: *Qu'on fasser ce qu'on voudrait que fit autrui.*]

(4) These lines are not found in other Chinese versions. (A. M.)

(5) Literally, "unbounded friendly mind (or purpose)."

S.P. 法句經上 (N. C. No. 1365 藏六 96 a)

爲仁不殺　常能攝身　是處不死　所適無患
不殺爲仁　愼言守心　是處不死　所適無患
彼亂已整　守以慈仁　見怒能忍　是爲梵行[6]

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11. Love Your Enemies.

Luke IV. 27–28. (路加傳四の二十七, 八)

But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you.

Hymns of the Faith, 3–5.

(Translated in S. B. E., Vol. X., Part 1. p. 4.)

"He abused me, he beat me,
Overcame me, robbed me."
In those who harbour such thoughts
Their anger is not calmed.
Not by anger are angers
In this world ever calmed:
By absence of anger are angers calmed.
This is an ancient doctrine.

C.T. 法句經上 (N. C. No. 1365, 藏六 96b).

隨亂意行　拘愚入冥　自大無法　何解善言
隨正意行　開解清明　不爲妬嫉　敏達善言
慍於怨者　未嘗無怨　不慍自除　是道可宗

Hymns of the Faith, 223. (S. B. E. Vol. X, Part 1. p. 58).

(See also Jātaka 151, where a story is based upon the precept.)

Let one conquer wrath by absence of wrath,
Let one conquer wrong by goodness,

(6) Also found in 法句譬喻經 (N.C. No. 1353, 藏六 69b). These lines of the Chinese Dharmapada occur in the first part of it which is failing in the Pali. The Chapter (No. 7 and called "the Love") in which these verses occur may be another version of Metta-sutta of Khandha-paritta. (Frankfurter p. 90-91). (A.M.)

Let one conquer the mean man by a gift,
And a liar by the truth.

C.T. 法句經上 (N.C. No. 1365 藏六 101 b).

忍辱勝恚　善勝不善　勝者能施　至誠勝欺

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12. Treasure in Heaven.

Matthew VI. 19, 20. (馬太傳六の十九, 二十).

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where theives do not break through nor steal.

Luke XII. 21 and 33. (路加傳十二の二十一及三十三).

So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.....

Sell that ye have, and give alms; make for yourselves purses which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief draweth near, neither moth destroyeth.

From the **Treasure Chapter** in the **Short Recital.**

Let the wise man do righteousness:
A treasure that others can share not,
Which no thief can steal;
A treasure which passeth not away.

S.P. 法句經上 (N.C. No. 1365., 藏六 96 a).

履仁行慈 .....天護人愛　不毒不兵　水火不喪
在所得利　死昇梵天。

* * * * * * *

13. Ravening Within.

Matthew VII. 15. (馬太傳七の十五).

Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.

Luke XI. 39. (路加傳十一の三十九).

And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter; but your inward part is full of extortion and wickedness.

[In the Matthæan parallel to this passage in Luke XI. (viz., Matth. XXIII. 25) we read: "Within they are full," i.e. the cup and platter. Luke, as usual, agrees with the Pāli.]

Hymns of thè Faith, 394.

(Translated in **S. B. E.** X, Part 1. p. 90).

What use to thee is matted hair, o fool!
What use the goat-skin garment?
Within thee there is ravening;
The outside thou makest clean.

C.T. 法句經下 (N. C. No. 1365 藏六 105 a).

飾髮無慧　草衣何施　內不離著　外捨何益

* * * * * * *

14. The Missionary Charge.

Mark VI. 7-13. (馬可傳六の七—十三).

And he called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth by two and two; and he gave them authourity over the unclean spirits; and he charged them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only; no bread, no wallet, no money in their purse; but to go shod with sandals: and, said he, put not on two coats. And he said unto them, Wheresoever ye enter into a house, there abide till ye depart thence. And whatsoever place shall not receive you, and they hear you not, as ye go forth thence, shake off the dust that is under your feet for a testimony unto them. And they went out, and preached that men should repent. And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.

Matthew XXVIII. 19, 20. (馬太傳二十八の十九, 二十).

Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations,

baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the consummation of the age.

Luke X. 1. (路加傳十の一).

Now after these things the Lord appointed seventy others, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself was about to come.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 10, 11.

(Translated in S. B. E. XIII. p. 112).

At that time there were sixty-one Arahats in the world.[1]

And the Lord said unto the monks: "I am delivered, O monks, from all fetters, human and divine. Ye, O monks, are also delivered therefrom. Go forth, O monks, on your journey, for the weal and the welfare of much people, out of compassion for the world, and for the wealth and the weal and the welfare of angels and mortals. Go no two of you the same [way].[2] Preach, O monks, the Doctrine which is glorious in its origin, glorious at the climax, glorious at the end, in the spirit and the letter. Proclaim a religious life wholly perfect and thoroughly pure. There are beings whose mental eyes are darkened by hardly any dust, but unless they hear the Doctrine they will perish. They will understand it.

S.P. 本行集經 (N.C. No. 680., 辰入 73 b-74 a).

我已得解脫、應於一切諸天人中、汝等行行、爲令多人得利益故、爲多人得安樂故、爲世間求當來利益及安樂故、〔若欲行至他方聚落〕獨自得去、不須二人、……當爲說法、初中後善、其義微妙具足無缺、汝等比丘當說梵行、

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(1) Rendel Harris suggests a parallel, if not a connection, with Luke's Seventy who went to the Gentiles. "As the hammer that strikes emits a multitude of sparks, so is every word emanating from the Holy One-Blessed be He—heralded in seventy different languages." (Babylonian Talmud, Tract Sabbath, chap. 9.)

(2) *Māra und Buddha*, p. 91.

有諸衆生、少諸塵垢、薄於結使〔諸根成熟〕、恐畏不能聞正法、即不能得知於法相。(3)

[Dr. Carus has pointed out to me the significant fact that the preaching of the Gospel to the nations is a later addition to the New Testament. This is borne out by the archaic oracle in Matthew:

"Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel... .....Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come." (The Missionary Charge in Matthew X. 5–6 and 23).

It is Luke alone who invents the mission of the Seventy (i.e. to the seventy nations of the world, according to Jewish geography). As we pointed out in April, 1900, there is a parallel here with the sixty-one Arahats sent forth by Gotamo. That Luke invented the story of the Seventy is betrayed by himself, for, in XXII. 35, he agrees with the Petrine and Matthæan tradition, in ascribing certain words to the Charge to the Twelve from which he has wrested them to make up his ideal Charge to the Seventy:

"When I sent you forth without purse and wallet and shoes, lacked ye any thing? And they said, Nothing."

Luke puts the words, "no purse, no wallet, no shoes," into the Charge to the Seventy (X. 4), while in the Charge to the Twelve he reads; "nor wallet, nor bread, nor money; neither have two coats." But there is no mention of shoes. (Luke ix. 3).

In the Gospel tradition generally the great Missionary Charge is the one given after the resurrection:

"Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." (Matth. XXVIII. 19).

The Trinitarian formula betrays the lateness of the redaction, but the passage is older than the redaction, for the substance of it is found in the Fourth Gospel: "Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you."

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(3) Two Chinese Vinaya texts (N.C. Nos. 1117 and 1122.) preserve this passage in simpler manner. Here we take the correspondence from the Chinese Mahāvastu (N.C. No. 680) which in this respect agrees best with the Pali. Further compare my 現身佛と法身佛 p. 50-51. (A.M.)

(John XX. 21). I have little doubt that the Matthæan charge read originally: "baptizing them into my name," simply; to which Rendel Harris assented when, in 1900, I pointed this out to him. After reading the present statement (*Open Court*, September, 1902) he wrote to me as follows:—"In regard to the last verse of Matthew, we are now in a position to speak more positively. As the result of Conybeare's examination of the manner in which Eusebius quotes the closing passage, it may be taken as proved that the Old Cesarean form was as follows:

'Go and make disciples of all nations in my name, and teach them everything that I have commanded you.

See Preuschen's Zeitschrift II. p. 275.

So there was not even a baptismal command, any more than a mention of the Trinity."]

As a Christian believer (though attached to no sect or church whatever) I personally maintain that the post-resurrection missionary charge is no mere fiction introduced to imitate Buddhism (granting that even the catholic Luke knew thereof,) but a reality. It is my conviction, after long research and thinking, that the Lord Jesus was vividly present, in some guise—whether palpable or visionary matters little—to his disciples after death, and especially to Peter. I believe too that he impressed their minds with his wishes, which had expanded since the days when he forbade ministrations to Samaritans and pagans. Unfortunately the account of the great appearance to Peter has been lost, if not suppressed by the Church. It probably contained the Charge to Peter (misplaced in Matthew XVI.) and some matter relating to the descent into Hades mentioned in Peter's Epistle. But this leads us to the question of the lost ending of Mark, and is out of place here. I will only quote the proof-texts for an apparition to Peter:

Mark XVI. 7: "Go, tell his disciples and Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him."

(Cf. also Mark XIV. 28, fortified by the parallel in Matthew, but weakened by its omission in the Vienna Gospel-fragment from Egypt.)

1 Cor. XV. 5. "He appeared to Cephas."

Luke XXIV. 34. "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon."

Eusebius, H. E. II. 1. Clement [of Alexandria].....in the seventh book [of his Institutions] writes also thus:

"The Lord transmitted the Gnosis unto James the Just, John and Peter after his resurrection."

Shahrastāni of Persia, A. D. 1150.

"After he was dead and crucified, he returned, and Simon Peter saw him and He spake with him, and transmitted to him the power. Then He left the world and ascended into heaven, and Simon Peter was his vicar." (Haarbrucker, Vol. 1. page. 261).

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15. Baptism.

Matthew III. 14. (馬太傳三の十四).

John would have hindered him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?

John IV. 2. (約翰傳四のニ).

Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples.

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E. Vol. XI, p. 109.)[1]

Now Subhaddo the hermit said unto the venerable Ānando: "Lucky, friend Ānando, very fortunate, friend Ānando, are ye who have here been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in the presence of the Master!"

S.P. 增阿三十七 (N.C. No. 543, 戾三 5a).

爾時須拔語阿難, "我今快得善利, 唯願世尊聽爲沙門"。

[Though this expression be figurative—for there is no such rite in the Book of Discipline—yet it implies the practice as existing at the time of Gotamo. The commentator Buddhaghoso,

(1) The Chinese Dirgha (No. 2 of No. 545, 戾九 21a) has all the paragraphs about Subhadda except 66 and 67. Instead of 66 it has: Buddha said to Subhadra: "As I have told you (the ordination) depends upon the person (to be ordained)." 67 is omitted here. Other versions of the Decease Book, i.e. 增阿三十七 (N.C. No. 543, 戾三 5a), 佛般泥洹經 (N.C. No. 552, 戾十 18-19), 大般涅槃經下 (N. C. No. 118, 戾十 32b), 般泥洹經下 (N. C. No. 119, 戾十 45a) have longer passages about Subhadras ordination, but without mentioning the sprinkling. (A.M.)

in the fifth century, quotes older writers as saying that Ānando poured water over Sabhaddo's head See note in S. B. E. xi, p. 110. The introduction to S. B. E. XLV. gives an account of Hindū Baptist theories.]

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16. Vigil.

Mark I. 35. (馬可傳一の三十五).

In the morning, a great while before day, he rose up and went out, and departed into a desert place, and there prayed.

Mark VI. 46-48. (馬可傳六の四十六—八).

He departed into the mountain to pray .....About the fourth watch of the night he cometh unto them.

Luke VI. 12. (路加傳六の十二).

He went out into the mountain to pray; and he continued all night in prayer to God.

Mark XIV. 37. 38. (馬可傳十四の三十七, 八).

And he cometh and findeth them sleeping, and saith unto Peter, Simon, sleepest thou? Couldest thou not watch one hour? Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

["Watch," γρηγορέω, Latin *vigilo* means to keep vigil. An examination of the New Testament passages where the word occurs is very instructive. My friend Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie, Ph. D., M. D., has paid much attention to the question of vigil, especially, in its physiological bearings. See his book, Regeneration the Gate Heaven.]

Major Section on Discipline I. 1.

(Translated in S. B. E. Vol. XIII, p. 74. Same passage in Enunciations I. 1-3).

The Lord sat in the posture of meditation for seven days, enjoying the bliss of deliverance; and at the end of that period he arose from the trance and thought out the Chain of Causation,

in direct and reverse order, *during the first watch of the night ..... And again during the middle watch.....And again during the last.*

C.T. 五分律十五 (N.C. No. 1122. 張一 89)

Cf. 四分律三十一 (N.C. No. 1117. 列五 6).

始得佛道坐林樹下,初夜逆觀十二因緣.....結跏趺坐七日,受解脫樂,過七日已從三昧起,遊行人間。

Enunciations VI. 9.

Thus have I heard. Once the Lord was staying at Sāvatthi, in the Victor's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And at that season the Lord was sitting throughout the thick darkness of the night in the open air, with oil-lamps burning.

[See also Enunciations I. 7, translated below, Parallel 57; also S. B. E. Vol. XX, p. 299.]

S.P. 雜阿毗二 (N.C. No. 546, 辰 25 a).

(Corresponding to the Samyutta II. 2. 8).

一時佛住釋氏優波羅提那塔所,爾時世尊... ...於後夜結跏趺坐,直身正意繫念在前。

S.P. 同上四十九 (Ditto, 辰四 92 a).

(In the Yaksha Section).

一時佛住摩鳩羅山,.....爾時世尊於夜暗時,天小微雨,電光聯現,出於房外露地經行。

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17. Celibacy.

Matthew XIX. 10-12. (馬太傳十九の十一十二).

The disciples said unto him, If the case of the man is so with his wife, it is not expedient to marry. But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are eunuchs, which were made eunuchs by men: and there are eunuchs, which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

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1 Corinthians VII. 32, 33. (哥林多前書七の三十二, 三).

I would have you to be free from cares. He that is unmarried is careful for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married is careful for the things of the world, how he may please his wife.

[In this famous chapter, for which Paul disclaims inspiration, the monastic ideal of later Christendom is foreshadowed.]

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. V. 33. Translated in S. B. E. Vol. XI, p. 91).

Lord, how shall we behave toward womankind?

Don't see them, Ānando.

But, Lord, if we do see them, how then?

Don't speak to them, Ānando.

But, Lord, if we have to speak, how must we behave?

Ānando, you must exercise mental collectedness (*sati*).

S. T. 增阿三十六 (N. C. No. 543, 戾三 4)[1]

〔阿難白世尊曰,〕當云何與女人從事。……

〔佛告阿難,〕莫與相見。——設相見, 莫與相語。——設共語者當專心意。

〔兩時世尊便說此偈

莫與女交通　亦莫共言語　有能遠離者　則離於八難。〕

Long Collection, Dialogue 1.

(Translated by Rhys Davids: Dialogues, Vol. I, p. 4).

Renouncing unchastity, the philosopher Gotamo is chaste. He walks afar and abstains from the act of sex, the rustic law (*dhammo*).

C.T. 長阿梵動經 (N. C. No. 21 of No. 545. 戾九 72 a).

沙門瞿曇捨於淫欲,淨修梵行,一向護戒, 不習婬逸所行, 清潔,

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(1) Here the passage is taken from the Chinese Ekottara. The Chinese Dīrgha omits this part (Cf. S. B. E. Vol. XI. p. XXXVIII). In other versions this is either omitted or given simply expressing the necessity of Chastity. (A.M.)

18. Poverty.

Luke VI. 20. (路加傳六の二十)

He lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said: Blessed [are] ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.

[The parallel in **Matthew V. 3.** has: "Blessed are the poor in spirit,"—thus altering the poverty from actuality to sentiment. But Luke, as usual, agrees with the Buddhist tradition. Renan long ago pointed out that Luke has more passages in praise of poverty than the other Evangelists. See, for example, **Luke XII. 33:** "Sell that ye have and give alms"—a passage peculiar to Luke. So also does Fausböll parallel the Lucan parable of the Rich Fool with the **Dhaniya Sutta** (S. B. E. X, part 2, p. 3); where the herdsman glories in his possessions, and the Lord in his spiritual attainments and earthly powerlessness.]

Matthew VIII. 20: (馬太傳八の二十).
Luke IX. 58. (路加傳九の五十八).

The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven [have] nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.

Hymns of the Faith, 200.

Ah! live we happily in sooth,—
We who have nothing:
Feeders on joy shall we be,
Even as the Angels of Splendour.

C. T. 法句經下 (N.C. No. 1355. 藏六 101 a)

我生已安　清淨無爲　以樂爲食　如光音天

Hymns, 91.

The thoughtful struggle onward,
And delight not in abode:
Like swans who leave a lake,
Do they leave house and home.

C. T. 法句經上 (N.C. No. 1365. 藏六 98 b).

心淨得念　無所貪樂　已度癡淵　如雁棄池

Hymns, 421.

Whoso before, behind and in the midst
Hath naught his own,—
Possessing nothing, clinging unto naught,—
Him do I call a Brahmin.

C. T. 法句經下 (N.C. No. 1365. 藏六 105 b).

千前千後　乃中無有　無操無捨　是謂梵行

Collection of Discourses, V. 37.

Just as a great bambū entangled is
With branches in each other, so the care
Of children and of wife; but like the shoot
Of bambū clinging not, let one alone
Wander as wandereth an elephant.

[Whole pages need to be copied from the Piṭakas to set forth in its fullness the Buddhist asceticism, while the glamour of the open-air freedom that shines over all is echoed in the New Testament by such expressions as: "Consider the lilies," &c. The sections on Celibacy and Poverty have been added in 1904, after looking through Seydel.]

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19. The Discourse on Defilement.

Mark VII. 15. (馬可傳七の十五).

Hear me all of you, and understand: there is nothing from without the man, that going into him can defile him: but the things which proceed out of the man are those that defile the man.

Collection of Discourses II. 2.

Destroying life, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, speaking lies, fraud and deceptions, worthless reading, intercourse with another's wife,—this is defilement, but not the eating of flesh.

[We do not give the entire Sutta; it is found in S. B. E., Vol. X, part 2, p. 40.–41].

20. The Commandments.

Mark X. 19. (馬可傳十の十九).

Thou knowest the commandments. Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Do not defraud, Honour thy father and mother.

[This is an abridgement of the list in Exodus XX. Those commandments which deal with duties toward the Deity are omitted, and among them the observance of the Sabbath].

Short Recital.

1. I obey the commandment to abstain from taking life.
2. To abstain from theft.
3. Unchastity.
4. Lying.
5. Wine and strong drink, which are a cause of irreligion.
6. Unseasonable meals.
7. Dance, song, music and shows.
7. Using garlands and perfumes for decoration and adornment.
9. High or broad beds.
10. I obey the commandment to abstain from receiving gold, silver or money.

[Nos. 6 to 10 were binding only upon monks].

S. P. 長阿梵動經 (N. C. No. 21. of No. 545, 戾九 72).

1. 不殺	2. 不與取	3. 不淫
4. 滅兩舌惡言綺語	5. 捨離飲酒	6. 非時不食
7. 不觀歌舞	8. 不着華香	9. 不坐高牀
10. 不執金銀		

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21. Faith and Works.

James II. 14 ; 24 ; 26. (雅各書二の十四, 廿四, 廿六).

What doth it profit, my brethren, if a man say he hath faith, but have not works? Can that faith save him?.....Ye see

that by works a man is justified, and not only by faith..... For as the body apart from the spirit is dead, even so faith apart from works is dead.

Logia-Book 32, 33.

This was spoken by the Lord, spoken by the Arahat, and heard by me. A person possessed of two qualities, O monks, is cast into hell just as he deserves. What are the two? Evil conduct and evil belief. A person possessed of these two qualities, O monks, is cast into hell just as he deserves. This is the meaning of what the Lord said, and here it is rendered thus:

By evil conduct
And by evil belief,
Of these two qualities
A man possessed
After the body's breaking is a fool,
Who rises again in hell.

Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord said, and thus it was heard by me.

This was spoken by the Lord, spoken by the Arahat, and heard by me. A person possessed by two qualities, O monks, is cast into paradise just as he deserves. What are the two? Good conduct and good belief. A person possessed of these two qualities, O monks, is cast into paradise just as he deserves. This is the meaning of what the Lord said, and here it is rendered thus:

By good conduct and good belief,
By these two qualities A man possessed,
After the body's breaking he is wise,
And rises again in paradise.

Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord said, and thus it was heard by me.

C. T. 本事經第二品之一 (N. C. No. 714, 辰六 31 b-32 a)

吾從世尊聞如是語，茲芻當知，若有一類補特伽羅成就二法……墮於地獄受諸劇苦。云何爲二。一者惡戒，二者惡見。諸有一類補特伽羅成就如是所說二法……墮於地獄受諸劇苦。爾時世尊重攝此義而說頌曰，

若成就二法　　謂惡戒惡見　……彼臨命終時

有憂悔悲憂　　如棄捨重擔　　定生地獄中

吾從世尊聞如是語，蕊芻當知，若有一類補特伽羅，成就二法……生天趣中，受諸快樂。云何爲二。一者善戒，二者善見。諸有一類補特伽羅，成就如是所說二法……生天趣中，受諸快樂。爾時世尊重攝此義而說頌曰，

若成就二法　　謂善戒善見　……彼臨命終時
無憂悔悲惱　　如棄捨重擔　　定生天趣中

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22. The Power of Confession.

1 John I. 9. (約翰第一書一の九).

If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

Romans X. 10. (羅馬書十の十).

With the mouth confession is made unto salvation.

Long Collection, Dialogue No. 2.

(Translated by Burnouf, *ap.* Grimblot: *Sept Suttas Pālis*, p. 243. Also by Rhys Davids: Dialogues of the Buddha: London, 1899, p. 94).

Truly, then, great King! a transgression has made thee transgress, as an ignorant, infatuated criminal,—thee who couldst deprive of life thy righteous father, that righteous King. But because, great King! thou hast seen [all] transgression from [this one] transgression, thou hast made expiation according to the Doctrine, and we accept this from thee; for this is an advance, O great King! in the Discipline of a Noble One: a Noble One who has seen all transgression from one transgression makes expiation according to the Doctrine: for the future he undergoes restraint.

[In Jātaka 431, the Bodhisat and his mistress are saved by speaking the truth. Lying is worse than adultery].

C. T. 長阿　沙門果經 (N. C. No. 27. of No. 545, 及九 89 a).

汝愚冥無識，迷於五欲，乃害父王。今於賢聖法中，能悔過者即自饒益，吾今愍汝受汝悔過。

23. Castes lost in the Lord.

Galatians III. 28. (加拉太書三の廿八)

There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bound nor free, there can be no male and female: for ye all are one man in Christ Jesus.

Mark III. 34, 35. (馬可傳三の卅四, 卅五)

And looking round on them which sat round about him, he saith, Behold, my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.

John XV. 14, 15. (約翰傳十五の十四, 十五)

Ye are my friends if ye do the things which I command you. No longer do I call you slaves; for the slave knoweth not what his Lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I heard from my Father I have made known unto you.

Enunciations V. 5; Minor Section on Discipline, IX. 1.

(Translated in S. B. E. XX., p. 304).

Just, O monks, as the great rivers, —to wit: the Ganges, the Jamna, the Rapti, the Gogra, the Mahi,—when they fall into the great ocean, renounce their former name and kind and are counted as the mighty sea: just even so, monks, do these four castes,—to wit: the Nobles, the Brahmins, the Tradesfolk, and the Slaves,—when they have gone forth from domestic life into the homeless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline made public by the Tathāgato, renounce their former name and clan, to be numbered with the Sākya philosophers.

S. P. 增阿二十一卷第九經 (N. C. No. 543, 戊二 3-4).

諸比丘, 今有四大河水 .. ..所謂恒伽 (Gaṅgā,) 新頭 (Sindhu) 婆叉 (Bhakṣā), 私陀 (Sītā), ……爾時四大河入海已無復本名字, 但名爲海。 此亦如是有四姓。 云何爲。 刹利, 婆羅門, 長者, 居士種。 於如來所剃除鬚髮, 着三法衣, 出家學道, 無復本性, 但言沙門釋迦子。 所以然者, 如來衆者其猶大海……除去結使使入於無畏涅槃城。 是故諸比丘諸有四姓……出家學道者, 彼當滅本名字自稱釋迦弟子。……所以然者何生, 皆由我生從法起從法成。……

[Further we have passages similar to this in various texts. Among them 中阿阿修羅經 and 膽波經 (Nos. 35–36 of N.C. No. 542)[1] agree nearly with the Pāli. There five rivers, 恒伽 (Gaṅgā), 搖尤那 (Yamunā), 谷牢浮 (Ṣarabhū), 阿夷羅婆提 (Aciravatī or Airavatī) and 摩企 (Mahī) are enumerated. Cf. my 現身と法身佛 pp. 98–99. (A. M.)].

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24. Eating with Sinners. The Magdalene.

Mark II. 16. (馬可傳二の十六)

The scribes of the Pharisees, when they saw that he was eating with the sinners and publicans, said unto his disciples, He eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners.

Luke VII. 37-38. (路加傳七の卅七, 卅八)

And behold, a woman which was in the city, a sinner; and when she knew that he was sitting at meat in the Pharisee's house, she brought an alabaster cruse of ointment, and standing behind at his feet, weeping, she began to wet his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hair of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment. Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have perceived who and what manner of woman this is which toucheth him, that she is a sinner.

Luke VIII. 1, 2. (路加傳八の一, 二)

And it came to pass soon afterwards, that he went about through cities and villages, preaching and bringing the good tidings of the kingdom of God, and with him the twelve, and certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary that was called Magdelene, from whom seven devils had gone out.

Matthew XXI. 31, 32. (馬太傳廿一の卅一, 卅二)

Jesus saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you.

(1) These agree with the Aṅguttara VIII. 19. No. 35 is the parallel text to that and the passage is found in Vol. IV. p. 202. (A.M.)

For John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not: but the publicans and the harlots believed him: and ye, when saw it, did not even repent yourselves afterward, that ye might believe him.

[The identification of the woman who was a sinner with Mary of Magdala is not certain, though popularly accepted].

Major Section on Discipline, VI. 30.

(Repeated in Long Collection, Dialogue 16., Book of the Great Decease Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 105, and XI, p. 30).

Now Ambapāli the harlot heard that the Lord had come to Vesāli, and was staying in her own mango-grove. Then Ambapāli the harlot made ready her best carriages, mounted her best carriage, and departed from Vesāli with her train. Then she went to her own mango-grove, and having gone as far as the ground was passable for carriages, she alighted from her carriage and proceeded on foot to where the Lord was; and approaching him, she saluted him and sat on one side. And while she was so sitting, the Lord instructed, incited, excited and delighted Ambapāli the harlot with religious discourse.

And being thus instructed, incited, excited, delighted, she addressed the Lord thus: "Let the Lord and his Order of monks consent to take dinner with me tomorrow."

The Lord consented by silence. And Ambapāli the harlot, having observed his consent, rose from her seat, saluted the Lord, and keeping him on her right hand, departed.

[The noble youths of the city are indignant at the invitation, and offer the courtesan one hundred thousand pieces to give up her intended entertainment of the Buddha, so that they may invite her. But she refuses; and next day, after the meal, presents her mango-grove to the Master and his Order].

C. T. 長阿遊行經 (N. C. No. 545, 戾九 11b-12).

有一婬女名菴婆波利，聞佛將諸弟子來至毗舍離坐一樹下，即嚴駕寶車，欲往詣佛所禮拜供養 .....下車步進漸至佛所，頭面禮足，却坐一面。爾時世尊爲說法示教利喜。

聞佛所說發歡喜心，即白佛言.....唯願世尊及諸弟子明受我請 .....。

爾時世尊默然受之。女見佛默然許可，即從座起頭面禮足遶佛而歸。

[毗舍離諸隸車……即語女曰，且置汝請……我當與汝百千兩金。女尊答曰，先請已定，不得相與……世尊即與千二百五十比丘整衣持鉢前後圍遶詣……女即設饌供佛及僧。……女白佛言……今以此園貢上如來，哀愍我故願垂納受]

[This passage is not found in the two Chinese Vinaya texts (N.C. Nos. 1117 & 1122).]

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25. The Master is Reproached for Generous Fare.

Matthew XI. 19. (馬太傳十一の十九)

The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold, a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners! And wisdom is justified by their works.

Middling Collection, Dialogue 26.

(The narrative is given by Buddha himself in the first person. Translated by Warren, p. 343. Repeated in Mahāvaggo, I. 6 (in the third person), and translated in S. B. E., Vol. XIII, p. 92).

Now the company of the five monks saw me (Mahāvaggo has *the Lord*) coming from afar; and when they saw me they took counsel together, saying: "Brethren, here comes the philosopher Gotamo, who lives in abundance; who has given up ascetic exertion, and has turned to an abundant life. Let us not salute him, nor rise from our seats when he approaches, nor take his bowl and robe from his hands. But let us put a seat here; and if he likes he may sit down."

[The sacred narrative proceeds to tell how the august presence of the newly enlightened sage awed the company into breaking their resolution, and showing him due reverence].

C. T. 中阿羅摩經 (N. C. No 542, 戾七 75a)

時五比丘遙見我來各相約敕而立制曰，諸賢當知，此沙門瞿曇來，多欲多求，食妙飲食好粳糧飯……汝等但坐，愼莫起迎，亦莫作禮，豫留一座莫請坐到已語曰，卿欲坐者自隨所欲。

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26. Conversion of a Leper; Disciples ask why he became so.

Matthew XI. 5. (馬太傳十一の五)

The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have good tidings preached to them.

John IX. 1-3. (約翰傳九の一, 一三)

And as he passed by, he saw a man blind from his birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, Rabbi, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind? Jesus answered, Neither did this man sin, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.

[As in the case of the first Nativity legend, the following passage is not set forth as an exact parallel, but rather as breathing the spirit of Gospel scenes: preaching in the open air and consoling the poor and despised].

Enunciations V. 3. (1)

Thus have I heard. At one time the Lord was staying at Rājagaha, in the Bambū-grove, beside the Squirrels' feeding-ground. Now at that time there was a leper at Rājagaha named Suppabuddho, who was a poor, wretched and woe-begone man. And at that time the Lord, surrounded by a great company, sat and preached the Doctrine. And Suppabuddho the leper saw the great crowd assembled from afar, and when he saw it he thought: "Doubtless there is something being distributed here to be eaten. What if I approach the crowd? Perhaps I shall get at least something of what is to be eaten here." And Suppabuddho the leper forthwith approached the crowd. But he saw that the Lord, surrounded by a great company, sat and preached the Doctrine, and when he saw it he thought: "Nothing is being distributed here to be eaten. This Gotamo the philosopher is preaching his doctrine to the company. What if I listen to the Doctrine?" So thinking, he sat on one side and said, "I too will hear the Doctrine."

(1) For this rendering, and its reason, see my remarks in the New Church Messenger: May 1, 1901.

Then the Lord, surveying with his mind the entire company, reflected: "There is some one now here who is capable of discerning the Doctrine." And forthwith the Lord saw Suppabuddho the leper sitting with the company, and when he saw him, he thought: "This man here is capable of discerning the Doctrine."

He delivered a catagorical discourse applicable to Suppabuddho the leper: viz., a discourse on giving, on conduct, and on Paradise and he made clear the evil consequence of lusts and the advantage of departing from depravity and sin. When the Lord discerned that the mind of Suppabuddho the leper was softened, unbiassed, exalted, and purified, then he made clear that which is the[2] supreme sermon of the Buddhas: viz., Pain, [its] Origin, [its] Cessation, and the Path. Even as a pure and utterly speckless robe receives the dye, so in Suppabuddho the leper, in the very place where he sat, there arose the stainless and spotless eye of the Doctrine: Whatever has an origin must needs have a cessation. And forthwith Suppabuddho the leper, having seen the Doctrine, having reached it, understood it, and dived into it, having passed beyond doubt and cavil and gained full knowledge, dependent upon no one else for the religion of the Master, rose from his seat, approached the Lord, and saluting him sat on one side; then, so sitting, he said to the Lord: "It is excellent, Lord, it is excellent. As one raises what has been thrown down, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has wandered, or holds out a lamp in the darkness that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so has the Doctrine been made clear in manifold exposition (*pariyāyo*)[3] by the Lord. And I, even I, Lord, take refuge in the Lord, the Doctrine and the Order. May the Lord receive me as a disciple who have taken refuge from this day forth so long as

(2) *Sāmukkaṁsikā dhammadesanā*. The adjective is important, being connected with Asoko's word *samukkaṁsa*, in his list of sacred selections. I have shewn in the supplement to my *Buddhist Bibliography* (San Francisco, 1901) that Asoko's First Selection was probably the First Sermon &c.

(3) Another important word. The most fundamental maxim of Gotamo's is called a *pariyāyo* of the Doctrine (S. B. E. XIII, p. 114); and Asoko uses this very term to designate a portion of sacred lore. The same term is self-applied to the *Lotus of the Good Law* in the Sanskrit collection. Moreover, at the Council of Vesāli the parties contended about what had been spoken with pariyāyo and what without pariyāyo. We know from Majjhima No. 18 that Gotamo said some things concisely, which monks afterwards expanded

life endures!" And forthwith Suppabuddho the leper, being instructed, incited, excited, delighted with the doctrinal discourse of the Lord, was pleased and rejoiced at the speech of the Lord, and, rising from his seat, saluted the Lord and, keeping him on his right hand, departed. And forthwith a cow, even a young calf,[4] attacked Suppabuddho the leper and deprived him of life. And forthwith a number of monks approached the Lord, saluted him and sat on one side, and so sitting those monks said to the Lord: "Lord, the leper named Suppabuddho, who was instructed, incited, excited, delighted with the doctrinal discourse of the Lord, has died. What is his future state and supernal destiny?" —"Suppabuddho the leper, O monks, is learned, and has entered upon the Doctrine's lesser doctrine; he did not take offence at me, to whom the Doctrine relates. Suppabuddho the leper, O monks, by the destruction of three fetters, is an Initiate,[5] not liable to be overthrown, steadfast, and having for his destiny complete Enlightenment."

When this had been spoken, a certain monk said to the Lord: "Lord, what now is the cause and the ground of Suppabuddho being a leper and a poor man, a wretched and woe-begone man?"

"In a former existence, O monks, Suppabuddho the leper was the son of the treasurer in this very Rājagaha. He was going out of the palace garden, and saw Tagarasikhi, a secretly Enlightened One,[6] going for alms around the city, and when he saw him he thought: "Who is this leper who is travelling about?" And he spat insultingly, and went on his way. By the result of that deed he was tormented[7] for many years, for hundreds, for thousands and hundreds of thousand of years in hell. By the remainder of the same deed's result, he became a poor man in this very Rājagaha, a wretched and woe-begone man. Having come to the Doctrine and Discipline made known by the Tathāgato, he accepted them together; he accepted the conduct, the teaching,[8] the resignation, and the wisdom. Having come to this and accepted this, he was born, upon the

(4) I am not sure of this translation. According to Pāli usage, the term "young calf" may be used adjectively, and mean that the cow was attended by or defending its calf, or even pregnant therewith.

(5) See Rhys Davids, Manual of Buddhism p. 109.

(6) Paccekabuddho, a Buddha who does not proclaim his knowledge.

(7) Literally, cooked.

(8) Literally, the thing heard (*sutam*).

dissolution of the body after death, in the happy states of the world of Paradise,[9] in the society of the Thirty-three Angels. There he outshines the other angels in splendor and glory. And forthwith the Lord, having understood the fact, on that occasion gave vent to the following Enunciation:

"He who hath eyes, even though unequal, when energy is found in him,
Is learned in the world of the living, and should shun evil deeds."

* * * * * * *

27. Serving the Sick, serving the Lord.

Matthew XXV. 44, 45. (馬太傳廿五の四十四, 五)

Then shall they also answer, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as you did it not unto one of these least, ye did it not unto me.

{Cf. also John XIII. 3-5, the washing of the disciples' feet, for something of the spirit of this scene}.

Major Section on Discipline. VIII. 26.

(Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XVII., p. 240. My attention was drawn to this passage by reading Copleston).

Now at the season a certain monk was sick at the belly, and lay prostrate in his own discharges. And forthwith the Lord, upon going round the sleeping places, with the venerable Ānando in attendance behind, came to that monk's abode, and saw him so. And he went up to him, and asked him: "What ails thee, O monk?"

"I am sick at the belly, O Lord."

"Hast thou then, O monk, any one to wait upon thee?"

"No one, O Lord."

"Why do not the monks wait upon thee?"

"Because, Lord, I am useless to the monks."

Then the Lord addressed the venerable Ānando: "Go Ānando, and bring water. Let us bathe this monk."

(9) *Saggo*, the Swarga of the Brahmins.

"Even so, Lord," said the venerable Ānando, in assent unto the Lord, and brought the water. And the Lord poured the water over that monk; and the venerable Ānando wiped him. And the Lord grasped him by the head, and the venerable Ānando by the feet, lifted him up, and laid him on his bed.

And forthwith the Lord, in that connection and with that for a text, assembled the Order of monks, and asked them: "Is there, O monks, in such and such an abode, a monk who is sick?"

"There is, O Lord."

"Then what ails him, O monks?"

"Lord, that venerable one is sick at the belly."

"And is there any one, O monks, to wait upon him?"

"No one, Lord."

"Why do not the monks wait upon him?"

"That monk, Lord, is useless to the monks. Therefore they do not wait upon him."

"Monks! Ye have neither fathers nor mothers to wait upon you. If, O monks, ye wait not one upon another, who is there indeed who will wait upon you? *Whosoever, O monks, would wait upon me, let him wait upon the sick.*"

S. P. 增阿五 (N. C. No. 543, 戾一 19b),

——〔世尊告諸比丘〕"其有瞻視病者即爲瞻視我已，有看病者則爲看我已。〔所以然者，我今躬欲看視疾病諸比丘，……瞻視病者則爲瞻視我，已而無有異，汝等長夜獲大福祐，如是諸比丘當作是學"〕。

* * * * * * *

28. The penitent Robber: Exhibiting Buddha's Doctrine of the new Birth and the Forgiveness of Sins.

Luke XXIII. 39–43. (路加傳廿三の卅九—四十三)

And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, Art not thou the Christ? save thyself and us. But the other answered, and rebuking him said, Dost thou not even fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said, Jesus, remem-

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ber me when thou comest in thy kingdom. And he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

John III. 5. (約翰傳三の五)

Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.

Mark II. 5. (馬可傳二の五)

And Jesus seeing their faith saith unto the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins are forgiven.

[Cf. also Eusebius, H. E. III. 23 (the story of the apostle John pursuing and converting the robber).]

Middling Collection, Dialogue No. 86.[1]

(Translated by Neumann, in Vol. II. pp. 464-474 of his Reden).

Thus have I heard. At one season the Lord was staying at Sāvatthi, in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder of the Poor. And at that season, there was a robber named Finger-garland (Aṅgulimālo) in the realm of Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā; and he was barbarous, red-handed, devoted to killing and slaughter, unmerciful to all who live. By him towns, villages, and districts were made as though they had never been. He slew men all the time and wore a garland of their fingers.

Now the Lord, having dressed betimes, took his bowl in his robe and went to Sāvatthi for alms. When he had gone round it, and had returned from the quest of alms in the afternoon, he rolled up his mat, took his bowl in his robe and entered upon the high-road where Finger-garland the robber was. Then the herdsmen, cattletenders, and farmers, who were working, saw the Lord going thither, and called to him: "O philosopher!

(1) There is a corrupt version of this story in Spence Hardy, translated from mediæval Ceylon sources, but the present is its first translation from the Pāli. Its antiquity is attested by the Pāli Great Chronicle, which tells us that it was sculptured, together with other leading stories from Buddha's life, upon the great Tope at the capital of Ceylon, in the second century B. C. The sculptures of similar scenes at Bharahut and Sāñci forbid our rejecting the Chronicle's list of Ceylon sculptures as fiction.

Go not upon that road; for a robber named Finger-garland is thereon, who is barbarous, red-handed, devoted to killing and slaughter, unmerciful to all who live. By him towns, villages, and districts are made as if they had never been. He slays men all the time and wears a garland of their fingers. O philosopher, men go upon this road only in companies of ten, twenty, thirty or forty; and they go armed for fear of Finger-garland the robber."

When they had said this the Lord went on his way in silence. And a second and a third time they said so, but still the Lord went on his way in silence.

C.T. 增阿三十一 (N. C. No. 543, 卷二 53b-56).[2]

聞如是。一時佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。爾時 ……波斯匿…王國界有賊名鴦堀(利)魔(羅), 爲人兇暴無有慈心, 殺於一切衆生, 人亡國空皆由此人。又取人指以爲華鬘。

爾時世尊 ……即從座起默然而行。是時世尊尋到彼所。諸有取薪負草犁作之人及牧牛羊者見世尊詣彼道, 各白佛言, "沙門, 沙門, 勿從彼道。所以然者, 此路側有賊, 名鴦堀魔, 於中止住, 諸有人民欲就此道者, 要集十人或二十人或三十, 四十, 五十人猶不得過……。

世尊雖聞此語故進不住。(彼再三告, 世尊猶去)。

Now Finger-garland the robber saw the Lord coming from afar, and seeing him he thought to himself: "This is wonderful, this is marvellous: men go upon this road only in companies of ten, twenty, thirty or forty, and they go armd for fear of me; but this philosopher, it seems, is alone, without any one, open to attack. What if I now take the life of this philosopher?" Then Finger-garland the robber took his sword and shield, got bow and quiver ready, and pursued the Lord. But the Lord put forth such an effort of psychical power, that Finger-garland the robber, going with all his might, could not overtake the Lord

(2) The same story is found also in both versions of the Chinese Saṃyukta (辰五 5-6 and 辰四 20-21) with some abbreviations. Here I quote the text from the Chinese Ekottara, found in the Sixth Nipāta. The Ekottara version contains some additional remarks, but when we leave them out the text agrees nearly word to word with the Pāli. Words in brackets were supplied from the Saṃyutta versions in order to make the agreement with the Pāli complete..... shows the omission of the Chinese passages which are not found in the Pāli and —shows the place corresponding to the Pāli not found in the Chinese. (A.M.)

going by his inner force (*pakati*).[3] So the robber thought to himself: "This is wonderful, this is marvellous: hitherto I have chased and caught an elephant running, a horse, a chariot, or a deer: but now, going with all my might, I cannot overtake this philosopher going by his inner force." He stood and said to the Lord: "Philosopher, stand! Philosoper, stand!"

"I am standing, O Finger-garland; stand thou also!"

Then Finger-garland the robber thought to himself: "These Sākya philosophers tell the truth, and mean what they say. And yet this philosopher, even while he is going, says, I am standing, O Finger-garland; stand thou also!' What if I now ask him [what he means]?" Then the robber addressed the Lord with a stanza:

"Philosopher, thou sayest, 'I am standing,' while thou art going, and thou callest me standing when thou art not so;

"I ask thee, philosopher, this question: How art thou standing when I am not standing?"

[The Lord:] "*I am standing,* O Finger-garland, *always among all beings,*[4] having laid aside the staff;

"But thou art unrestrained among living things: therefore I am standing and thou art not."

"Long has the great Seer (*Isi*),[5] this philosopher debating in great Wood, been revered by me;

[The Robber:] "I myself will renounce evil for long, having heard thy stanza that is linked with religion.

"Even thus does a robber resemble a sword or a weapon at the pit and precipice of hell:"[6]

The robber bowed at the feet of the Auspicious One, and begged of him initiation on the spot.

Then Buddha, the Compassionate Seer, he who is Master of the world with its angels,

Said to him: "Come, O monk; and this was all there was to make him a monk.

(3) Sanskrit, *Prakṛiti*, the well-known term, in the Sankhya philosophy, for ideal of primordial matter, the mind-stuff of creative power.

(4) Cf. Rev. III 20: Behold, I stand at the door, and knock.

(5) Sanskrit, *Rishi*.

(6) *Tanvakari*. The word is not in Childers, but the text here is corrupt. (Chinese reads: "He threw his sword into deep (bottom of a) precipice.") (A.M).

.....[7] 是時鴦堀魔...遙見世尊來...並笑而說是語。"..... 其有人民欲行此道者皆集大衆而行此道, 然此沙門獨無伴侶, 我今當取殺之"。是時鴦堀魔即拔腰劒往逐世尊。是時世尊尋還復道徐而行步, 而鴦堀魔奔馳而逐, 亦不能及如來。——是時鴦堀魔白世尊言, "住, 住, 沙門"。世尊告曰,

"我自住耳　汝自不住"

是時彼鴦堀魔並馳走.....遙說此偈。

"去而復言住　語我言不住　與我說此義　彼住我不住"。

爾時世尊以偈報曰

"世尊言已住　不害於一切　汝今有殺心　不離於惡原....."

.....[8]

"尊今爲我故　而說微妙偈　惡者今識眞　皆由尊威神

即時捨利劍　投于深坑中[9]....."

是時鴦堀魔便成沙門, 着三法衣。

爾時世尊.....便說此偈

"汝今以剃頭　除結亦當爾　結滅成大果　無復愁苦惱"。

Now the Lord, with Finger-garland for an attendant philosopher, went on his journey toward Sāvatthi and in due time arrived there; and there the Lord stayed at Sāvatthi, in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder of the Poor. Now at that season a great crowd collected at the palace-gate of Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, and there went up a hue and cry: "Your Majesty, there is a robber in your realm named Finger-garland, who is barbarous, red-handed, devoted to killing and slaughter unmerciful to all who live. By him towns, villages, and districts are made as if they had never been. He slays men at all time, and wears a garland of their fingers. Let your Majesty arrest him."

Now Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, departed that day from Sāvatthi with some five hundred horses, and proceeded to the cloister-garden. He went by chariot as far as the ground was

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(7) Here is inserted an episode. It tells that the robber was trying to kill his mother in order to get a number of fingers necessary to fill up his finger-garland because it was his oath and that just at the moment he caught sight of the coming philosopher. In this wise in the Chinese version Angulimāla is not a mere robbor. The same story is told in a Mahāyāna text 鴦掘魔羅經 (N.C. No. 434, 黃十 41b). His garland was to be dedicated to a certain god in order to be purified from his sins. (A.M.)

(8) Here is added a discourse on the six false views arising from attachment to egotism. On account of this remark the story is taken in into the sixth Nipāta. (A.M.)

passable for chariots, and then alighted, and went on foot to where the Lord was. Going up to the Lord, he saluted him and sat respectfuly on one side. While he so sat, the Lord said to him: "O great King, is Seniyo Bimbisāro, the King of Magadhā, provoked at you, or the Licchavi [clan] of Vesāli, or other rival kings?" "Nay, Lord, none of these kings are provoked at me. But, Lord, there is in my realm a robber named Finger-garland, who is barbarous, red-handed, devoted to killing and slaughter, unmerciful to all who live. By him towns, villages, and districts are made as if they had never been. He slays men all the time and wears a garland of their fingers. Lord, I fear I shall not arrest him."

……爾時世尊將鴦堀魔比丘還詣舍衛城祇洹精舍。——是時王波斯匿集四部之衆……往世尊所頭面禮足,在一面坐。爾時世尊問王曰,"大王今日欲何所至,塵汗身體乃至於斯"。波斯匿王白佛言,"我今國界有賊,名鴦堀魔,極爲兇暴,無有慈心於一切衆生,使國丘荒,人民流迸皆由此賊。彼今取人殺之取指爲鬘此是惡鬼非爲人也。我今欲誅伐此人"。

"But, Great King, if you saw Finger-garland with his hair and beard cut off, having put on the yellow robes and gone forth from domestic life into the homeless one; abstaining from taking life, from theft, and from lying; eating one meal a day, chaste, moral, with a glorious religion, what would you do to him?"

"Lord, we should salute him respectfully, or rise in his presence, or offer him a seat, or present him with robe and alms-bowl, a dwelling-place, the requisites for sickness, medicine and conveniences; and we should appoint for him the protection, toleration and defence that are due to religion.(9) But, Lord, how could there be such moral restraint in an immoral, wicked man like him?"

世尊告曰,"若當大王見鴦堀魔,一信心堅固,出家學道者,王當奈之何"。

王白佛言,"知復如何,但當承事供養,隨時禮拜。然復世尊,彼是惡人,無毫釐之善,恒殺害,能有此心出家學道乎……"。

(9) Rhys Davids translates the same phrase in the Long Collection thus: "watch and ward and guard, according to the law." The "or" in our present translation of this paragraph arises from a difference in the text.

Now at that time the venerable Finger-garland was sitting not far from the Lord. Then the Lord, stretching out his right arm, said to Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā: "This, great King, is Finger-garland!" Then the king was seized with fear, consternation and horror, and the Lord, seeing him so, said to him: "Fear not, great King, fear not; there is nothing for you to fear any more." So the King, who had been terrified, became calm again, and went up to Finger-garland, saying to him: "Surely Your Reverence is not Finger-garland?" "Yes, great King."

"What is the clan of Your Reverence's father, and what is the clan of your mother?"

"Great King, my father is a Gaggo, and my mother a Mantānī."

"May it please Your Reverence, Gaggo-Mantānī-son, I shall supply you with a robe, alms-bowl, and dwelling-place, and with the requisites for sickness, medicine and conveniences.

But at that season the venerable Finger-garland was a forestdweller, with an alms-bowl, and wearing three robes taken from dustheaps. So he said to the king: "Enough, great King: three robes are my full outfit."

爾時鴦堀魔去世尊不遠結跏趺坐……。爾時世尊伸右手指示王曰"此是賊鴦堀魔"。王聞此語，便懷恐怖，衣毛皆竪。世尊告王，"勿懷恐怖，可往至前……"。是時王聞佛語，即至鴦堀魔前，語鴦堀魔曰——

"汝今姓誰"

鴦堀魔曰"我姓伽伽，母名滿足"。

是時王……問曰，"善樂此正法之中……我當盡形壽供養衣被飲食牀臥具病瘦醫藥"。

是時鴦堀魔默然不對。

Then Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, approached the Lord saluted him respectfully, and sat on one side. And so sitting, the King said to the Lord: "Wonderful, O Lord! marvellous, O Lord! is it even until now, O Master and Lord: men are tamed among the untamed, pacified among the unpacified, and among those who have not attained, they are brought to Nirvāṇa (literally, *extinguished among the non-extinct*).[10] He, Lord, whom

(10) A magnificent paronomasia, quite untranslatable: *aparinibbutānaṃ parinibbāpetā*. Both words are causative, and the literal translation would be very cumbrous: "caused to be extinguished among those not caused to be extinguished."

we could not tame by staff or sword, is tamed by the Lord without staff and without sword. But now, Lord, we must go: we have much to do, much business on hand."

"Just as you think fit, great King."

So Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, rose from his seat, saluted the Lord respectfully, and keeping him on his right hand, departed. Then the venerable Finger-garland, having dressed betimes, took bowl in robe and went into Sāvatthi for alms. And going through Sāvatthi from house to house for alms, he saw a woman in the agonies of travail, and thereupon thought to himself: "Alas, how beings suffer; alas, how beings suffer!"

王即……還詣世尊所頭面禮足在一面坐。是時王復白佛言，不降者使降，不伏者使伏，甚奇甚特尊所不有，乃能降伏極惡之人。唯願大尊受命，無窮長養生民，蒙世尊恩得免此難。國事猥多，欲還城池"。

世尊告曰"王知是時"。

爾時國王即從座起，頭面禮足便退而去。爾時鴦堀摩作阿練若，着五納衣，到時持鉢家々乞食周……入舍衛城乞食，是時有婦女臨產甚難，見已便作是念"衆生類極爲苦痛，受胎無限"。

Now the venerable Finger-garland, having gone to Sāvatthi for alms and returned in the afternoon, approached the Lord, saluted him, and sat as usual, and said: "Lord, today on my begging rounds in Sāvatthi, while I went from house to house, I saw a woman in the agonies of travail; whereupon I thought to myself: 'Alas, how beings suffer; alas, how beings suffer'!"

"Well now, Finger-garland, go to Sāvatthi, go up to that woman and say this: 'Since I was born, sister, I do not remember that I ever purposely took the life of anything that breathes. By this truth be there safety to thee and safety to thy womb.'"

"But Lord, that would surely be for me a deliberate lie: by me, Lord, have many breathing things been reft of life."

"Well, then, Finger-garland, go to Sāvatthi, approach that woman and say: 'Sister, since I was BORN OF THE NOBLE BIRTH I do not remember that I ever purposely took the life of aught that breathes. By this truth be there safety to thee, and safety to thy womb."

"Even so, Lord," said the venerable Finger-garland, in assent unto the Lord; and going into Sāvatthi, he approached that woman and said: 'Sister, since I was BORN OF THE NOBLE

BIRTH I do not remember that I ever purposely took the life of aught that breathes. By this truth be there safety to thee and safety to thy womb."

Whereupon there was safety to that woman and safety to her womb.

是時鴦堀魔食後收攝衣鉢……往至世尊所頭面禮足在一面坐，爾時鴦堀魔白世尊言，"我向着衣持鉢入舍衛城乞食，見一婦人身體重妊，是時我便作是念，'衆生受苦何至於斯。'"——

世尊告曰，"汝今往彼婦人所而作是說，'我從賢聖生已來未曾殺生，'持此至誠之言，使此母人胎得無他"。

鴦堀魔對曰，"如是，世尊，"是時鴦堀魔……入舍衛城，往至彼母人所，語彼母人曰，"我從賢聖生已來更不殺生，持此至誠之言，使胎得解脫"。

是時母人胎即得解脫。……

And forthwith the venerable Finger-garland, dwelling alone, retired, earnest, ardent and strenuous for a little time, realized by his own supernal knowledge, and even in this world, that incomparable goal of the religious life, for the sake whereof do veritable gentlemen go forth from the domestic life into the homeless one: he perceived that birth was destroyed, that the religious life was lived, and duty done, and after this existence there was naught beyond. And so the venerable Finger-garland became one of the Arahats.

是時鴦堀魔在閑靜之處自修其行……族姓子出家學道者，欲修無上梵行，生死已盡，梵行已立，所作已辦，更不復受胎，如實知之。

Now the venerable Finger-garland, having dressed betimes, took bowl in robe, and went to Sāvatthi for alms; and on one occasion a clod of earth was thrown and hit his person; upon another occasion a stick, and yet again a stone. Then the venerable Finger-garland, with his head broken and the blood flowing, his bowl broken and his robe rent, approached the Lord. And the Lord saw him coming from afar, and said to him: "Bear up, O Brāhmin, bear up! *You are feeling in this world the effect of some deed for which you would have been tormented in hell for many years, for many hundreds and thousands of years.*"

Then the venerable Finger-garland, when secluded and solitary, felt the bliss of deliverance, and on that occasion gave vent to the following Enunciation.

時是惡堀魔城中乞食，諸男女大小見之……各々以瓦石打者，或有以刀斫者。傷壞頭目，衣裳裂盡，流血汗體，即出舍衛城至如來所。是時世尊遙見惡堀魔頭目傷破流血汗衣而來。見已已便作是說，"汝今忍之，所以然者此罪乃應永劫受之"

時是惡堀魔……在如來前便說此偈。

[The dialogue ends with a page of rugged verse, which recurs in the Book of Stanzas by Monks, and probably goes back to some expressions of Angulimālo himself. Because the sūtra is accompanied by stanzas, the Chinese Āgamas have it in the Bhikshu section of the Sagāthavaggo of the classified Collection instead of in the Middling.

The words italicised are important. This is the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins. To the Arahat all the past is wiped away, and he only suffers such physical effects of evil as those described; but no retribution can follow him beyond the grave.]

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29. Disciples repelled by Deep Doctrine.

John VI. 66. (約翰傳六の六十六).

Upon this many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him.

Numerical Collection VII. 68.

Now, when this discourse [on Burning] was spoken, hot blood gushed from the mouths of some sixty monks, while other sixty rejected the teaching, and went back to the world, saying: "Hard is the Lord, very hard is the Lord!" But the hearts of yet other sixty monks, who clung not to the Depravities, were emancipated.

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30. Triumphal Entry into the Capital; with Pæan.

Luke XIX. 37-38. (路加傳十九の卅七卅八).

And as he was drawing nigh, [even] at the descent of the Mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to

rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the powers which they had seen; saying, Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 22.

(Translated in S. B. E., Vol, XIII. p. 141).

Now Seniyo Bimbisāro, the King of Magadhā, when the night had passed, commanded excellent food, both hard and soft, to be prepared, and the time to be announced to the Lord, thus:

"It is time, Lord: the meal is ready."

And the Lord, having dressed betimes, took his bowl in his robe, and entered Kingshouse (Rājagaha) with a great company of monks, with a thousand monks who had all been wild ascetics before.

Now at that season Sakko the Lord of the angels, assuming the appearance of a young brahmin, walked in front of the company of monks with the Buddha at its head, and sang the following stanzas:

The Self-Controlled One with the self-controlled,
together with the wild ascetics that were; the Emancipated One with the emancipated,
The altogether Golden, the Lord, hath entered Kingshouse.

The Delivered One with the delivered, together with the wild ascetics that were; the Emancipated One with the emancipated.
The Altogether Golden, the Lord, hath entered Kingshouse.

He who hath crossed [the ocean of passion,] with those who have crossed it, together with the wild ascetics that were; the Emancipated One with the emancipated;
The Altogether Golden, the Lord hath entered Kingshouse.

Endowed with ten nobilities of mind, ten powers, understanding the ten conditions, and of ten possessed.
The one with retinue of hundreds ten, the Lord, hath entered Kingshouse.

C.T.[1] 四分律三十三 (N.C. No. 1117,'列五 16).

瓶沙王……見佛已發歡喜心……

"今正是時, 唯願世尊入羅閱城"。

時世尊默然受瓶沙王請已,即從座起, 着衣, 將千比丘, 皆是舊學螺髮梵志……以佛威神入羅閱城。……

時釋提桓因化作一異婆羅門……在如來前引導, 讚歎佛法僧, 勇猛一切解……慙愧念知足……世無有與等……滅欲及瞋恚無明永已盡……

When men saw Sakko the Lord of the angels, they said: "This young brahmin is handsome indeed, fair to behold, giving delight. To whom does this young brahmin belong?" [i. e. Whose attendant student is he?]

Whereupon Sakko the Lord of the angels addressed those men with a stanza:

"He who is entirely tamed, unrivalled Buddha,
The Arahat, the world's Auspicious One, his attendant am I.'

C.T.[2] 五分律十六 (N.C. No. 1122, 張二 2).

時摩竭人欲(見?) 當佛前帝釋驅逐……而說偈言,

"形像如梵天　執杖而蹋虛　口宣柔耎語　是誰之給使

時釋提桓因以偈答言,

"解脫一切縛　最上調御士　應供已善逝　我爲彼給使

[It is doubtless hypercriticism to observe that Luke's refrain, alone among the four Evangelists, who all describe this scene, is curiously parallel to the Pāli:

Εὐλογημενος ὁ ἐρχομενος Βασιλευς:

RĀJAgahaṃ PĀVISI BHAGAVĀ.

(1) We have in the Chinese three (at least) different versions of this story. The one I quote here is in the Vinaya Text of the Dharmagupta School. The second which I quote for the next section is in that of the Mahīçāsakas. Properly speaking both of these have not the first stanzas spoken by Sakko (*danto dantehi* &c). I supplied them from the stanzas spoken by Sakko in answer to the people which are longer in the Dharmagupta Vinaya.

The third is found in the Madhyama-āgama No 62. But this version omits Sakko's stanzas in Buddha's praise. (A.M.)

(2) Taken from the Mahīçasaka Vinaya which renders Brahmana by 梵天 i.e. the God Brahmā. (A.M.).

So also the mention of powers (*δυναμεις*) recalls the *dasabalo* of our passage.]

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31. Psychical Powers.

Aristion's Appendix (Mark XVI. 17, 18).

And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out demons; they shall speak with [new] tongues they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

Numerical Collection III. 60.

(Compare also **Middling Collection, Dialogue No. 6**, translated in S. B. E. XI: **Long Collection, Dialogue No. 11**, translated in *Dialogues of the Buddha* (1899), each by Rhys Davids, and the former also into German by Neumann).

O Brahmin, there are these three miracles.(1) What three? The miracle of psychical power, the miracle of mind-reading, and the miracle of education. What, O Brahmin, is the miracle of psychical power? In this case, O Brahmin, one enjoys in various ways a kind of psychical power: from being one he becomes multiform, from being multiform he becomes one; he appears and vanishes, [over] he goes without hindrance to the farther side of a wall or battlement or mountain, as if through air; he plunges into earth and emerges, as if in water he walks

(1) Pāṭihāriya is the regular word for a display of magical power or jugglery, and is best rendered "miracle." The word *Iddhi*, translated "psychical power" is more dignified. Burnouf renders it "puissance surnaturelle."

Luke XXIV. 31, 36. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight.....And as they spake these things, he himself stood in the midst of them.

John XX. 19, 20. When therefore it was evening on that day, the first day of the week, and when the doors were shut where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.....

And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them. Jesus cometh, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you.

on the water without dividing it, as if on earth ;[2] like a bird on wing he travels through the air in the posture of meditation and yonder sun and moon, so magical, so mighty, he feels and touches with his hand ; while up to the world of God he reaches even in the body. This, O Brahmin, is called the miracle of psychical power.

C.P. 長阿 堅固經 (N.C. No. 24. of No. 545. 大九 82 b).[3]

有三神足云何爲三。 一曰神足，二曰觀察他心，三曰教誡。云何爲神足。長者子，比丘現無量神足，能以一身變成無數，以無數身還合爲一，若遠若近，山河石壁自在無礙，猶如行空，於虛空中結跏趺坐猶如飛鳥，出入大地猶如在水，若行水上猶如履地，身出烟火如大火聚，手捫日月，立至梵天……。

And what Brahmin, is the miracle of mind-reading? In this case, O Brahmin, one reads minds by visible indication, and says: "Your mind is thus, your mind is so, your heart is so-and-so." Even if he read much, it is always as he says, and not otherwise. Again, O Brahmin, one reads minds not by visible indication, but by hearing the voice of men, demons or angels, and then declaring the state of mind ; and even if he reads much, he is always right. Nor alone these means does he read, but he hears the sound of thought-vibrations from thinking and reflecting, and in this way comes to read the mind and heart. And as before, he is always right. Then again, besides visible indication, voice and thought vibration, one ascertains the trance-mind of a man absorbed in rapture beyond thought and beyond reflection, by heart-to-heart perception, so that one can say: "From the determinate mental conformation of this friend, from the nature of his heart, he will think such and such a thought." And as before, he is always right. This, O Brāhmin, is called the miracle of mind-reading.

(2) **Mark VI. 48,** and parallels (told of Christ). And seeing them distressed in rowing, for the wind was contrary unto them, about the fourth watch of the night he cometh unto them, walking on the sea.

Matthew XIV. 29, (told of Peter). And he said, Come. And Peter went down from the boat, and walked upon the waters, to come to Jesus.

(3) Cf. also 增阿十九(大一 63, N.C. No. 543) which connects the sermon with the story of the conversion of three Kaçyapa's.

The text corresponding to *Saṅgārāva* of the Aṅguttara here translated is found in No. 143 of the Chinese Madhyama. (A.M.).

云何名觀察他心神足。 於是比丘現無量觀察神足，觀衆生心所念法，隨屏所爲皆識知。

What, now, Brāhmin, is the miracle of education?

In this case, O Brāhmin, one educates on this wise: "Think thus instead of so: consider thus instead of thus. Renounce this; train yourself in that, and abide therein." This, Brāhmin, is called the miracle of education. And these are the three miracles.(4) Which of the three, think you, is the most excellent and most refined?

云何爲教誡神足。

長者子，〔若如來……出現於世……自身作證爲他說法上中下皆悉眞正，義味清淨，梵行具足。 若長者居士聞已，於中得信，得信已，於中觀察自念，我不宜在家……我今寧可剃除鬚髮服三法衣，出家修道，具諸功德，乃至成就三明，滅諸闇冥，生大智明……〕(5) 是我比丘現教誡神足。

Well, now, Gotamo, as to the miracle of psychical power, he who performs and experiences this has the benefit all to himself. This kind of miracle, Gotamo, appears to me a natural accompaniment of religion. And I think the same of the second, the miracle of mind-reading. But that last one, Gotamo, that miracle of education, appears to me the most excellent and most refined. Wonderful, O Gotamo, marvellous, O Gotamo, is this good saying of yours; and we hold that you are endowed with all three of these miracles. Gotamo can indeed practise every one of the aforesaid psychical powers, from becoming multiform to reaching in the body unto the world of God. Gotamo can ascertain the mind of man absorbed in rapture beyond thought and beyond trance reflection, by heart-to-heart perception, and can say from the determinate conformation and the nature of the heart what the thought will be. And Gotamo can educate by telling what to

(4) In Dīgha No. 11, Gotamo says: "It is because I see the germ in miracles of psychical power and of mind-reading, that I detest, abhor and despise them." In the uncanonical Sanskrit Divyāvadāna, he says that he commands the disciples not to work miracles, but to hide their good deeds and show their sins.

(5) This passage in brackets corresponds to the *Kevaddha* 9 f. (p. 214). The Chinese **Ekottara** (戊— 63a) which differs in other respects from the Aṅguttara agrees here with it. It reads: 何名訓誨教化復次當作是去，不應作是去，作是來，不應作是來，……應如是入村，不應如是入村，是謂名爲訓誨教化，是謂名爲訓誨教化 (A.M.)

think and what to consider; what to renounce, wherein to train oneself, and wherein to abide.

It is true, O Brahmin, that I have attained to all that you have said, and I will furthermore assert that I can do each of the three miracles in question.(6)

But is there, Gotamo, a single other monk who is endowed with these miracles besides yourself?

Brahmin, not only one, nor a hundred, nor two, three, four, or five hundred, but even more monks there are who are endowed with these three miracles.

But, Gotamo, where do these monks now dwell?

In this very Order, O Brahmin!

Excellent, O Gotamo! excellent! As one raises what has been thrown down, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out a lamp in the darkness that those who have eyes may see the objects, just even so has the Doctrine been made clear by Gotamo in manifold exposition. And I, even I, take refuge in Gotamo, his Doctrine and his Order. May Gotamo receive, as a lay-disciple from this day forth as long as life endures, me who have taken refuge [in him].

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32. The Saint Superior to Harm.

Luke X. 19. (路加傳十の十九).

Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall in any wise hurt you.

Aristion's Appendix (Mark XVI. 17, 18).

And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out demons; they shall speak with [new] tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them.

Numerical Collection XI. 16.

(Quoted in *The Questions of King Milinda*: S. B. E. Vol. XXXV. p. 279. See also Birth-Story, No. 163).

(6) In this and similar cases the tedious repetitions of the original are condensed into the style of our Western rhetoric.

Eleven benefits, O monks, are due from the cultivation of Love,—from practising it, developing, making it active and practical, pursuig it, accumulating, and striving to the height of its heart-deliverance.

What are the eleven?—One sleeps in peace and wakes in peace; he dreams no evil dream; he is dear unto mortals and immortals; the angels watch over him; fire, poison, sword can harm him not; quickly his heart is calmed; the aspect of his countenance is serene; he meets death undismayed; and should he fail of the Highest, he is sure to go to the world of God.

C.T. 增阿四十七 (N.C. No. 543., 戾三 48b).

若有衆生修行慈心解脫, 廣布其義與人演說, 當獲此十一果報。云何爲十一。 臥安, 覺安, 不見惡夢, 天護, 人愛, 不毒, 不兵水火, 盜賊終不侵枉, 若身壞命終生梵天上。

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33. Power over Serpents.

Luke X. 19, (as above), (Justin Martyr adds *centipedes*).

Minor Section on Discipline, V. 6

(Translated in S. B. E., XX., P. 75).

Now at that season a certain monk died of the bite of a serpent. They told the matter to the Lord... ...And he said: "Now surely that monk, O monks, did not diffuse his Love toward the four royal breeds of serpents! Had he done so, he would not die of the bite of one."

[The reason why I capitalise Love is because it is a technical term, and means literally and forcibly *willing what is good*. By a systematic practice of this love-meditation, or projection of affectionate thought-waves toward all creatures, Gotamo, as we have read in a former translation, became the Deity of a bygone cycle].

C.T. 五分律二十六 (N.C. No. 1122, 張二 52 a).[1]

有一比丘〔欲燃浴室火破薪,蛇從木孔中出〕螫〔脚, 即〕死。諸比丘以是白佛。 佛言彼比丘不知〔八〕種蛇, 名不慈心.....自護者不爲毒蛇之所傷殺。

(1) We have this story and the stanzas *Virūpakkhehi* in the Pāli Aṅguttara IV. 6. (Vol. II. p. 273) and in Chinese 隨勇尊者經(宿七 38), 雜阿二十 (N.C. No. 544., 辰二 50). Cf. 現身佛と法身佛 p. 110 (3). (A.M.).

34. Faith to Remove Mountains.

Matthew XVII. 20, 21. (馬太傳十七の廿, 廿一).

And he saith unto them, Because of your little faith: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.

[Repeated in **Matthew XXI,** which is parallel with **Mark XI.** But the added verse which appears in some MSS., **Matt. XVII. 21,** is analogous to Gotamo's exclamation about ignorance],

Numerical Collection VI. 24.

Monks, a monk endowed with six qualities can cleave the Himālaya, the monarch of mountains. But what a doctrine for vile ignorance! Which are the six?

Monks, suppose a monk is expert in the attainment of Trance (or concentration), in the maintenance thereof and the rising therefrom: expert in the obscure intimations of trance, in its range, and in earnest aspiration thereunto. A monk endowed with these six qualities, O monks, can cleave the Himālaya, the monarch of mountains. But what a doctrine for vile ignorance!

[In the mediæval Additions to the Talmud, there is a story, told by Rabbi Nathan of a stone-cutter who broke up a mountain piecemeal, and pushed the last remaining rock into the Jordan. Though told as a parable, it appears to preserve some reminiscence of a Palestinian trying to carry out literally the words of Christ. See Rodkinson's Babylonian Talmud, translation of tract Aboth, p. 29].

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35. Healing the Sick.

Matthew VIII. 16. (馬太傳八の十六).

When even was come, they brought unto him many demoniacs: and he cast out the spirits *with a word*, and healed all that were sick.

[The parallel passage in **Mark I. 34,** says that he healed *many*, not all].

John XV. 3. (約翰傳十五の三).

Already ye are clean *because of the word* which I have spoken unto you.

[It is true that spiritual cleanness is here meant, but we know that in the Testament, the two go hand in hand. See Mark II. 5; John V. 14].

Classified Collection XLVI. 14.

Thus have I heard. At one season the Lord was staying at Rājagaha, in the Bambū Grove beside the Squirrels' feeding-ground. Now at that season the venerable Kassapo the Great was staying at the Fig-tree Grotto, and was sick, suffering and severely ill. Then the Lord, having arisen from his evening retirement, went up to the venerable Kassapo the Great, and sat on a seat prepared for him. And so sitting, the Lord said: "I hope you are bearing up; I hope you are able to move, and that your pains are going away, and not coming on. Deep breathing is a sign that they are going away, and not coming on.

"No, Lord; I am not bearing up; I am not able to move; my severe pains are coming on; they are not going away."

"Kassapo, there are these seven branches of wisdom thoroughly taught by me, practised and developed: and they conduce to higher knowledge, to full enlightment, to Nirvāna. What are the seven? They are:

[1.] Mental collectedness.
[2.] Search for truth.
[3.] Will-power.
[4.] Joy.
[5.] Peace.
[6.] Sustained collectedness.
[7.] Equanimity. (or, Trance).

"These are the seven branches of wisdom thoroughly taught by me, practised and developed; and they conduce to higher knowledge, to full enlightment, to Nirvāna."

"Certainly, O Lord, these are the branches of wisdom. Certainly, O Auspicious One, these are the branches of wisdom."

This is what the Lord said, and the venerable Kassapo the Great was rapt and rejoiced at the utterance of the Lord. And the venerable Kassapo the Great got up from that sickness; and so his sickness was renounced.[1]

(1) *Pahino*, the regular word for renouncing or forsaking sin.

Ditto. XLVI, 15.

[The more celebrated disciple Moggallāno is cured in the same way at the Vulture's Peak].

Ditto. XLVI 16.

At one season the Lord was staying at Rājagaha, in the Bambū Grove beside the Squirrels' feeding-ground. Now at that season the Lord was sick, suffering, and severely ill. And the venerable Cundo the Great went up to the Lord, and sat respectfully on one side. And while he was so sitting, the Lord said to him: "Cundo, call to mind the seven branches of wisdom."

"Lord, there are these seven branches of wisdom thoroughly taught by the Lord, practised and developed; and they conduce to higher knowledge, to full enlightenment, to Nirvāna."

[Cundo then recites them, as given above].

"Certainly, Cundo, these are the branches of wisdom; these are the branches of wisdom."

This is what the venerable Cundo the Great said, and the Master approved. Then the Lord got up from that sickness; and thus his sickness was renounced.

[All three of these passages are in the *Paritta*, an ancient Pāli manual of Scriptural selections for use in daily life. It was partly translated into French (but with none of these passages) by Léon Feer in 1871, who also, in 1883, translated the first of the three from the Tibetan. The Parittā or Parittam (i.e. *Defence*) is used in Ceylon to this day as a ward against evil. The Greek historian Arrian (second century, but using pre-Christian sources) bears witness to the Hindū belief in spiritual healing. He says (*Indica* 15): "The Sophists.....were supposed to cure whatever was curable, not without God (*οὐκ ἀνευθεου*)."]

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36. Prayer.

Mark XI. 24, 25. (馬可傳十一の廿四、廿五)

All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them, and ye shall have them. And whensover ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one; that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses.

Middling Collection, Dialogue 41.

Citizens, if a pious and upright man should wish: "Oh, that I, upon the body's dissolution after death, may be born into fellowship with a great family of [the caste of the] Nobles!" it will come to pass; upon the body's dissolution after death he will be born into fellowship with a great family of Nobles. And why? Because he was pious and upright.

Citizens, if a pious and upright man should wish to be born after death into a great Brahmin family, a great middle class family, or into fellowship with the various orders or angels [which are enumerated], he will be so, because pious and upright. And if he should wish, after destruction of the cardinal vices, to realise by his own supernal knowledge in this present world, to be initiated into, and abide in the viceless deliverance of heart and intellect, it will come to pass.

Classified Collection XLI. 10.

On this occasion the citizen[1] Citto was sick, suffering and severely ill. Then a number or park-fairies, forest-fairies, tree-fairies—fairies dwelling among the lords of plants, grasses and forests—came flocking together unto the citizen Citto and said: "Pray,[2] citizen, that in the future you may be a king, an emperor (*cakkavatti*)."

C.T. 雜阿二十二 (N.C. No. 544, 辰三 2 ab).

爾時質多羅長者病苦, 〔諸親圍繞〕。有衆多諸天來詣長者所, 語質多羅長者言, "長者汝當發願, 得作轉輪王"。

〔質多羅長者語諸天言, "若作轉輪王, 彼亦無常苦, 空無我"。.....〕

[Citto refuses to pray for temporal Prosperity, and instead he converts his friends and kinsfolk to Buddhism, after which he dies. In both Christian and Buddhist texts we have the central idea that the strong aspiration of a good man takes effect. But he must first be good.[3] To the Christian it is the answer of God to petition; to the Buddhist it is the response of cosmic law].

(1) *Gahapati*, literally "householder," but meaning also a village magistrate, a financier, a commoner, a social magnate.

(2) *Panidhehi*. The use of this word in Buddhist literature is equivalent to the Christian praying.

(3) Compare Middling Collection, Dialogue 6, translated in S. B. E. XI.

37. Mental Origin of Disease.

Mark II. 5. (馬可傳二の五).

Jesus, seeing their faith, saith unto the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins are forgiven.

John V. 14. (約翰傳五の十四).

Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee.

Classified Collection XXXV. 74.

This took place at Sāvatthi.

A certain monk approached the Lord in the usual way, and sitting on one side, he said unto him: "Lord, there is in such and such a cloister a new and inexperienced monk who is sick, suffering and severely ill. Will the Lord be so kind as to go to him and comfort him?"

Then the Lord, considering that this monk was a novice and sick and inexperienced, went to him. Now when that monk saw the Lord coming, even from afar, he began to make room on the couch. Then the Lord said to him: "Come, now, there is no need to act thus: there are seats here made ready: I will sit on one of them." And the Lord did so. Wile sitting, he said to the monk: "Surely, monk, you can bear up; you are able to move; the pains are going away and not coming on. Your deep breathing is a sign that they are going away, and not coming on."

"No, Lord, I cannot bear up; I am not able to move; my sharp pains are coming on; they are not going away. The deep breathing is a sign that they are coming on, and not going away."

C.T. 雜阿三十七 (N.C. No. 541, 卷四 9b 10 a).

佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園……

時有衆多比丘詣佛所，稽首禮足却坐一面白佛言，"世尊有一比丘年少新學，乃至疾病困篤……世尊往彼處以哀愍故"。

爾時世尊默然而許，即日晡時從禪覺至彼住處。彼病比丘遙見世尊，扶床欲起。佛告比丘"息臥勿起"。"云何比丘苦患寧可忍不〔如前差摩修多羅廣說〕"。如是三受乃至病苦但增不損。

"*Monk, you have not any remorse or regret about anything, have you?*

"Certainly, Lord; I have much remorse and much regret."

"You certainly are not to blame for any misconduct?"

"It is not that, Lord."

"Well, monk, if you are not to blame for any misconduct, then why have you remorse and regret?"

〔佛告比丘，"我今問汝，隨意答。〕汝得無變悔耶"。
〔病比丘白佛言〕"實變悔，世尊"。
〔佛告病比丘〕"汝得無犯戒耶"。
〔病比丘白佛言〕"世尊，實不犯戒"。
〔佛告病比丘〕"汝若不犯戒，何爲變悔"。

"Lord, I do not know the meaning of the doctrine of moral purity taught by the Lord."

"Well monk, if you do not know that, what doctrine taught by me do you know the meaning of?"

"Lord, I know the meaning of the doctrine about passion and abstinence taught by the Lord."

"Good, monk, good. It is well that you know the meaning of the doctrine about passion and abstinence taught by me, for the meaning of these is the doctrine I teach. What think you, O monk? Is the eye permanent or impermanent?"

"Impermanent, Lord."

"Are the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body and the mind permanent or impermanent?"

"Impermanent, Lord."

"But is the impermanent painful or pleasant?"

"Painful, Lord."

"Well, then, can you predicate of what is impermanent, painful and liable to change: 'This is mine, I am this, this is myself?"

"No, Lord, you cannot."

"Monk, when the noble and learned disciple sees this, he grows weary of the eye, weary of ear, nose, tongue, body and mind. He knows that after this existence there is no beyond."

This is what the Lord said, and that monk was rapt and rejoiced at the utterance of the Lord. And while that exposition was being uttered, there arose in that monk the pure and spotless eye of religion, namely the truth, that whatever has the quality of beginning has also the quality of cessation.

〔病比丘白佛〕"世尊我年幼稚，出家未久，於過人法勝妙知見，未有所得，我作是念，命終之時知生何處，故生變悔"。

〔佛告比丘〕"我今問汝，隨意答我。云何，比丘，有眼有眼識耶……眼觸因緣生內受，若苦，若無不苦不樂耶"

〔比丘白佛〕"如是，世尊"。

〔耳鼻舌身意亦如是說〕

"是故比丘當善思惟如是法，得善命終後世亦善"

爾時世尊爲病比丘種々說法示敎，照喜已從座起去，時病比丘，世尊去後，尋即命終……諸根喜悅

[The question about remorse and regret brings out the idea that disease is the rusult of sin or of bad mental states induced thereby. In *Majjhima* 36, a Jain objects that the Buddhists have mastery over their minds, but not over their bodies. Gotamo replies: "When the body is uncontrolled, so is the heart: when the body is controlled, the heart is likewise."]

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38. Display of Psychical Power Forbidden.

Mark VIII. 11, 12. (馬可傳八の十一，十二).

And the Pharisees came forth, and began to question with him, seeking of him a sign from heaven, tempting him. And he sighed deeply in his spirit, and saith, Why doth this generation seek a sign? Verily, I say unto you, There shall no sign be given unto this generation.

Minor Section on Discipline, V. 8.

(Translated in S. B. E. XX. p. 81).

Ye are not, O monks, to display psychical power or miracle of superhuman kind before the laity. Whoever does so is guilty of a misdemeanor.

C.T. 四分律五十一 (N.C. No. 1122., 列六 31 b).

不應於白衣前現神足。若現突吉羅

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39. Saving Power of Belief.

Mark IX. 38. (馬可傳九の卅八).

Jesus said unto him, If thou canst! All things are possible to him that believeth.

Cf. **John III. 18.** and the New Testament throughout.

Numerical Collection I. 17.

Monks, I do not perceive another single quality whereby beings, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in states of suffering, woe, destruction and hell, to be compared, O monks, to false belief.

Beings possessed of false belief, O monks, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in states of suffering, woe, destruction and hell.

Monks, I do not perceive another quality whereby beings, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in the world of weal and paradise, to be compared, O monks, with Right Belief.[1]

Beings possessed of Right Belief, O monks, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in the world of paradise.

C.T. 本事經二 (N.C. No. 714, 辰六 30 a).

蕊芻當知, 世有一法, ...所謂邪見, 所以者何, 由邪見故, 令諸有情愚癡增益, 顛倒堅固, 垢穢隨增, 惡趣成滿。——

蕊芻當知, 世有一法.....所謂正見, 所以者何, 由正見故, 令諸有情愚癡損減, ...淨法隨增, 脫諸惡趣, 善趣成滿。

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40. Spiritual Sonship and Spiritual Sacrifice.

John I. 12–13. (約翰傳一の十二,十三).

But as many as received him, to them gave he the right to become children of God, even to them that believe on his name:

(1) The first step in the Noble Eightfold Path of Gotamo's famous Sermon in the Deer Park near Benāres. The doctrine of the saving power of Belief is thus fundamental in Buddhism.

which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

John III. 5–7. (約翰傳三の五—七).

Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born anew.

Romans VIII. 17. (羅馬書八の十七).

If children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him.

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1 Corinthians IV. 15. (哥林多前書四の十五).

For though ye should have ten thousand tutors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I begat you through the Gospel.

Galatians IV. 19. (加拉太書四の十九).

My little children, of whom I am again in travail until Christ be formed in you.

Philemon 10. (腓利門書十).

I beseech thee for my child, whom I have begotten in my bonds.

Matthew IX. 13. (馬太傳九の十三).

(On sacrifice)

But go ye and learn what this meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice: for I came not to call the righteous, but sinners,

[I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, is a quotation from **Hosea VI. 6.**].

Matthew XII. 7. (馬太傳十二の七).

But if ye had known what this meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless.

Hebrews IX. 23. (希伯來書九の廿三).

It was necessary therefore that the copies of the things in

the heavens should be cleansed with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these.

Logia Book, 100.

This was said by the Lord, said by the Arahat, and heard by me.

Monks, I am a Brahmin, suitable to beg of; drinking always pure drink; wearing my last body; an incomparable Healer and Physician. Ye are my lawful sons, born of my mouth, born of my religion,(1) created by religion; spiritual heirs, not carnal ones.

There are also, O monks, both carnal and spiritual alms; carnal and spiritual distribution: carnal and spiritual help. And the spiritual is always the chief.

And again there are two sacrifices; carnal sacrifice and spiritual sacrifice; and of these twain, the chief one, monks, is the spiritual sacrifice.

This is the meaning of what the Lord spake, and here it is rendered thus:

He who, without stint, hath offered a spiritual sacrifice—
The Tathāgato, who pitieth all beings—
He indeed is the best among angels and mortals:
Sentient beings worship him who hath passed beyond Existence.

Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord, said, and thus it was heard by me.

S.P. 別雜十二 (N.C. No. 546, 辰五 76 a).

爾時世尊告諸比丘。

汝等當知, 我是婆羅門, 受最後身, 無上良醫, 扳於毒箭。 汝等皆是我子, 悉從於我〔心〕口而生, 是我法子, 從法化生, 〔我欲自恣〕。 .....

* * * * * * *

(1) Or, spiritually born (*dhamma*-born).

(2) Logia 100 is wanting in the Chinese Itivṛtika (N.C. No. 714), but this passage with omission of the utterance about the spiritual sacrifice is found in the text corresponding to the Saṃyutta VIII. 7, i.e. the text above cited and 雜阿四十五 (N.C. No. 544, 辰四 63). Similarity of this Logia passage with the Sela of the Sutta Nipāta is also to be noticed. To this latter text we have a corresponding text in the Chinese Ekottara (增阿四十六, 辰三 42–43), but the stanzas are omitted. (A.M.)

41. The Spritual Warfare is Internecine.

Luke XII. 49–53. (路加傳十二の四十九—五十三).

I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I, if it is already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with: and how am I straitened till it be accomplished! Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth? I tell you, Nay, but rather division: for there shall be from henceforth five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. They shall be divided, father against son, and son against father; mother against daughter, and daughter against her mother; mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.

Matthew X. 34–36. (馬太傳十の卅四—卅六).

Think not that I came to send peace on the earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: and a man's foes shall be they of his own household.

Hymns of the Faith 294, 295.

Mother and father having slain,
And two kings of the Warrior caste;
A kingdom and its people having slain,
A Brahmin scatheless goes.

Mother and father having slain,
And two kings of the Brahmin caste,
Yea, and an eminent man besides,
A Brahmin scatheless goes.

[There was a law in ancient India forbidding a Brahmin to be executed though guilty of the worst crimes. (S. B. E. Vol. II, p. 242; XIV, pp. 201 and 233). The Buddhists, who so often use the word Brahmin in a mystic sense, allude here to the killing of our psychical parents, craving and ignorance. See the note in Beal's *Dhammapada from the Chinese*. Paul Carus, in quoting this note (*Buddhism and its Christian Critics*, pp. 190, 191) adduces Matthew X. 21 as a parallel. But the text refers to Persecution. The true parallel is based upon an oracle of the

prophet Micah's (VII. 6). In Matthew, the prediction of persecution is closely associated with the mystic utterance about spiritual warfare, but Luke rightly separates the two (Luke XII. 4–12; 49–53)].

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PART IV.

THE LORD.

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42. The Saviour is unique.

John I: 14 and 18. (約翰傳一の十四, 十八).

The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the *only begotten* from the Father), full of grace and truth.....No man hath seen God at any time; the *only begotten* Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.

Hebrews IX: 26. (希伯來書九の廿六).

Now once at the end of the ages hath he been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.

Numerical Collection I, 15.[1]

(Translated in substance by Oldenberg: *Buddha*, English translation, 1882, p. 328. Cf. Long Collection, Dialogue 28;[2] Middling Collection, Dialogue 115, Chinese 181. 戾七 32 a).

(1) In the Chinese Ekottara there is no text exactly agreeing with this, but we have in three passages mention of one Tathāgata appearing in the world.

增阿四 (N.C. No. 543, 戾一 16 b); 若一人出現於世.....所謂如來至眞等正覺. 此謂一人出現於世.....

同五 (Do. 戾一 19 b): 若有一人出現於世..... 所謂多薩阿竭阿羅訶三耶三佛, 是謂一人出現世時, 過諸天人民..... 最尊無與等者.....

同八 (Do. 戾一 30 b): 一人出現於世甚爲難得 ....如來至眞等正覺. 出現於世甚爲難得, 轉輪聖王, 出現於世甚爲難得。 (A.M.)

(2) With this agrees in substance 長阿含獄喜經 (N.C. No. 545, (18), 戾九 63a). There we read: 世尊智慧無餘, 神通無餘, 諸世間所有沙門婆羅門, 無有能與如來等者. 況欲出其上 i.e. The Lord is incomparable in his wisdom, incomparable in his miraculous powers; all the ascets and priests in the world cannot excell the Tathāgata (in these respects). (A.M.)

It is unlikely and impossible, O monks, for two Arahats who are perfect Buddhas to arise simultaneously in the same world-system: this is not likely. But it is likely, O monks, for one Arahat who is a perfect Buddha, to arise in one world-system; this is quite likely.

C.T. 中阿 多界經 (N.C. No. 181 of No. 542, 戾七 32 a)
若世中有二如來者終無是處。若世中有一如來者必有是處。

[A similar statement is made of an emperor,[3] and then it is denied that a woman can be a Buddha, an emperor, a Sakko, a Māro, or a Brahmā.]

Numerical Collection IV, 36.

(Partly translated by H. Kern: Manual of Buddhism: Leipzig, 1896, p. 64).

Once the Lord had entered upon the main road between High-town and White-town. Now Doṇo the Brahmin entered it likewise. And he saw the wheels on the Lord's feet, with their thousand spokes, their tires and naves, and all their parts complete. Having seen them, he thought to himself "Wonderful and marvellous indeed! These cannot be the feet of a human being."

Then the Lord, stepping aside from the road, sat at the root of a tree in the posture of meditation, holding his body, erect, looking straight before him, and collecting his mind. And Doṇo the Brahmin, following the Lord's feet, saw him sitting at a tree-root with serene and pleasing looks, his faculties and mind at peace, with the highest control and calm, in the attainment [of trance], subdued and guarded. Upon seeing the hero (literally, the elephant), with his faculties at peace, he approached the Lord and said:

"Are you not an angel?"

"No, Brahmin; I am not an angel."

"Are you not a celestial genius?"

"No, Brahmin; I am not."

"Are you not a goblin?"

"No, Brahmin; I am not a goblin."

"Are you not a man?"

"No, Brahmin; I AM NOT A MAN."

(3) I was interested to learn lately from the lips of a Hindū that the ancient title *cakkavatti* is applied today to the Queen of England as Empress of India. (Note of 1899).

"I you are none of these, what are you, then?"

"Brahmin, those Depravities (*āsavā*) wherefrom, as an angel, I should consider myself undelivered, are for me renounced, uprooted, dug out, annihilated, unable to rise again in the future. And those Depravities wherefrom, as a genie, a goblin or a man, I should consider myself undelivered, are likewise renounced and uprooted. Monks[4] even as a blue lotus, a water-rose or a white lotus is born in the water, grows up in the water, and stands lifted above it by the water undefiled, even so, Brahmin, am I born in the world, grown up in the world and I abide, overcoming the world, by the world undefiled. O, Brahmin, you must call me a Buddha."

S.T. 雜阿四[5] (N.C. No. 544, 長二 23 a).

一時佛〔在拘薩羅人間遊行〕從有迦帝 (Ukkaṭṭhi) 墮鳩羅 (Dakura?) 聚落二村中間〔一樹下坐入盡正受〕。時有豆磨 (Dhūma) 種姓婆羅門隨彼道行。〔尋佛後來〕見佛脚跡千輻輪相印顯現、齊輻圓輞、衆好滿足。見已作是念"我未曾見人間有如是足跡。〔今當隨跡以求其人"。〕

——即尋脚跡至於佛所,來見世尊坐一樹下入盡正受,嚴容絕世、諸根澄靜、其心寂定、第一調伏、正觀成就〔光相巍々猶若金山〕。見已白言、

"爲是天耶"。

〔佛告婆羅門〕"我非非天也"。

"爲〔龍〕夜叉[6]〔乾闥婆、阿修羅、迦樓羅、緊那羅、摩睺羅伽、〕人〔非人〕等"。

"〔佛告婆羅門〕我非龍乃至人非人也"。

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(4) Evidently a slip of the scribes for "O Brahmin." The passage occurs in Saṃyuta XXII, 94, translated below, Parallel 58.

(5) Cf. The Chinese Ekottara 增阿二十 (N.C. No. 543, 長一 82-83), where the same thing is told of Maudgalyayana, and 別雜十三 (C.N. No. 546, 長五 86 a) which agrees perfectly with the version here quoted, except the place, (at Çāla-village in Kosala).

In a chapter of the later Chinese Dharmapada version corresponding to XXII. of the Pāli we find a passage similar to these stanzas; i.e.

法集要頌經自己品 (N.C. No. 1439, 藏六 116 b).

自降爲大士	One who overcomes himself is a hero,
衆行則具足	Endowed with all good conducts;
非天彥達嚩	He is neither deva nor gandharva,
非魔及梵天	Nor Mara, nor Brahma.

Further on the exercise of self-control is admonished. (A.M.)

(6) Here are enumerated Naga, Gandharva, Asura, Garuda, Kinnara and Mahoraga. (A.M.)

〔婆羅門白佛〕"若言非天非龍乃至非人〔非人〕,爲是何等"。
〔爾時世尊說偈答言〕

"[7]天龍乾闥婆　緊那羅夜叉　無善阿修羅　諸摩睺羅伽
人與非人等　悉由煩惱生。如是煩惱漏　一切我已捨
已破已磨滅。如芬陀利生　雖生於水中　而未曾着水
我雖生世間　不爲世間着。……[8]故名爲佛陀。[9]

Note on the Grotesque in Buddhism.

The comparison of Buddha to an elephant[10] excites in some a smile. But the elephant is just as gentle as the lamb and far more majestic, yet we are not shocked by the Apocalyptic Lamb upon the throne of the Godhead. I am told that certain items in the Buddhist Scriptures are trivial or grotesque. Are the Gospels free from the like? Joseph's perplexity at the pregnancy of Mary, till a dream assures him it is supernatural; the food and raiment of the Baptist; the fantastic scenes of the Tempatation; the baptismal Dove; the transmuted water; the extemporized creation of fishes; the Devils who know the Son of God; the clay and the spittle; the Gadarene swine (so humorously depicted by Carlyle); the coin in the fish's mouth; the Matthæan parallel between Jonah's three nights and Christ's; the rivers that flow from a believer's belly; the blasted fig tree; the Matthæan mistake about the two asses; the anointed feet wiped with a woman's hair; the whipping of the hucksters; the Matthæan apparitions of the corpses; the hand in the resurrected side; the risen Lord eating broiled fish; the vision of the sheet-full of animals; the Elects collected by a trumpet: the adulterers cast into a bed: are not all these New Testament incidents and saws grotesque except to us who are powerfully

(7) The answer of Buddha is given in verse. (A.M.)

(8) This corresponds to the Pāli stanzas: *Yo vedi* &c. (A.M.)

(9) We have in the Chinese three versions of the text corresponding to the Pāli Aṅguttara IV. 36. Two are found in the Brāhmaṇa-saṃyukta of the Saṃyukta-āgama and one in the sixth division (38th Chapter of Nanjio's Catalogue) in the Ekottara. The three agree with the Pāli in substance. The Saṃyukta versions give the name of the Brahmaṇa (Doṇa in Pāli) as *Dhūma* or *Smoke* and give ¶ 3. of the Pāli in verse after the stanzas of ¶ 4. (omitted in the translation above).

The Ekottara versions gives no name of the Brahmaṇa and explains what are the six senses and how these are annihilated in Buddha. This part stands for ¶ 3. and 4. of the Pāli.

(10) Cf. Lalitavistara Chap. V., 大莊嚴經(宙四 6 b.) and Windisch at the XII. Congress of Orientalists. (A.M.)

psychologized by the Christian ideals? No philosopher will make objection for a moment to the Buddhist books on the score of the grotesque.

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43. I have Overcome the World.

John XVI. 33. (約翰傳十六の卅三).

Be of good cheer: I have overcome the world.

1. John V. 4, 5. (約翰第一書五の四, 五).

Whatsoever is begotten of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that hath overcome the world, [even] our faith. And who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?

Numerical Collection IV. 36.

(Cf. also Calssified Collection XXII. 94, below translated in Parallel No. 58).

I am born in the world, grown up in the world, and having overcome the world, I abide by the same undefiled. [Repeated from above].

S.P. 雜阿含 (N.C. No. 544, 卷 : 23a).[1]

我雖生世間　　不爲世間著

[This Parallel is verbal: *'εγω νενικηκα τον κοσμον*=[*ahaṃ*] *lokaṃ abhibhuyya*. The *ahaṃ* is understood in the *viharāmi*, I abide. *Abhibhuyya* is the verbal noun, which is so much used in Pāli. Considering this idiom, it is no strain of grammar to translate *lokaṃ abhibhuyya viharāmi*: "I have overcome the world and abide" &c.]

* * * * * * * *

44. The Light of the World.

John VIII: 12 (約翰傳八の十二).

Jesus spake unto them, saying, I am the light of the world.

(1) This I take from the verse spoken of in the preceding note 7, to Parallel 12. It corresponds to the Pali *na upalippāmi lokena*. Unfortunately the words for *lokaṃ abhibhuyya* are wanting in both versions of the Samyukta. Instead of them both have six or seven lines, last of which read: "The end of birth and death is reached (by me)," 盡於生死際。

John IX : 5–7. (約翰傳九の五—七).

When I am in the world, I am the light of the world. When he had thus spoken, he spat upon the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed his EYES with the clay.

[Observe the connection between *light* and *the eye*.]

Classified Collection LVI. 38.

Monks, so long as moon and sun arise not in the world, so long is there no appearance of great glory, of great splendor. Then is there gloom and darkness dense: night and day are known not, nor months and fortnights, nor seasons of the year. But when, O monks, the moon and sun arise in the world, then is there appearance of great glory, of great splendor: gloom and dense darkness are no more; then night and day are known, and months and fortnights and seasons of the year.

Even so, monks, so long as there arises no Tathāgato, a Holy One, a perfect Buddha, so long is there no appearance of great glory, of great splendor. Then is there gloom and darkness dense: there is no proclamation of the Four Noble Truths, no preaching thereof, no publication, no establishment, no exposition, analysis, elucidation. But when, O monks, a Tathāgato, a Holy One, a perfect Buddha ariseth in the world, then is there appearance of great glory and of splendor great; gloom and dense darkness are no more: then is there proclamation of the Four Noble Truths; there is preaching thereof, publication, establishment, exposition, analysis, elucidation.

C.T. 雜阿十五 (N.C. No. 544, 辰二 86 b).

爾時世尊告諸比丘，若日月不出世間者，一切衆星亦不出於世間。晝夜，半月，一月，時節歲數，刻數須臾皆悉不現。〔世間常冥無有明照，唯有長夜……〕

若如來應供等正覺不出世間時，不說苦聖諦，苦集聖諦，苦滅聖諦，苦滅道聖諦，現於世間，世間盲冥，無有明照。……

若日月出於世間，衆星亦現，晝夜，半月，一月，時節歲數，刻數須臾悉現世間，長夜明照出於世間。

如是，如來應等正覺出於世間，苦聖諦現於世間，苦集聖諦，苦滅聖諦，苦滅道跡聖諦現於世間，不復闇冥，長夜照明，純一智慧現於世間。

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XI, p.p. 119, 122, 127).

Too soon will the Lord enter Nirvāna! Too soon will the

Auspicious One enter Nirvāna! Too soon will the Light of the World (literally, Eye in the World) vanish away!

C.T. 長阿遊行經 (N.C. No. 2. of No. 545, 戾九 14 a, 20 b, 21 a).
(Cf. 現身佛と法身佛 pp. 180-181).
如來滅度何其駛哉。世尊滅度何其速哉。……世間眼滅。

* * * * * * *

45. King, Redeemer and Conqueror of the Devil.

John XVIII : 37. (約翰傳十八の卅七).

Pilate thefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.

Mark X : 45. (馬可傳十の四十五).

For verily the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

John XII : 31. (約翰傳十二の卅一).

Now is the judgment of this world : now shall the prince of this world be cast out.

Sela-Sutta.

(Double text : Collection of Suttas aad Middling Collection, Dialogne 92).(1)

I am a King, O Selo!
An incomparable King of religion.(2)
By religion I set rolling a wheel,
An irresistible wheel..... ..

(1) This sutta is found neither in the Chinsee Madhyama nor in other Chinese text, but the persons of Sela (施羅) and Keniya (翅賓耆) are found in a Sūtra of 增阿四十六 (N.C. No. 513, 戾三 42). This sūtra agrees in substance with the Digha No. 27. *Aggañña* which is also found in 長阿小緣經 (N.C. No. 5 of No. 545).

The utterance of Buddha that he is a religious King is found in two places of the Chinese *Ekottara* (戾一 58 b, 戾三 52 a). There we read :

我今正是正身，名曰法王。 and
我今是無上法王。 (A.M.)

(2) Or *Truth* (as in John : *Dhamma*, which we generally translate "Doctrine."

What ought to be supremely known I know,
What ought to be perfected I perfect,
What ought to be renounced I renounce:
Therefore, O Brahmin! am I Buddha.
Discipline thy doubt of me,
Surrender thyself, O Brahmin!
Hard to obtain is the appearing
Of fully Enlightened Ones repeatelly.
He who indeed is *hard in the world to obtain*,
In manifestation repeatedly.
That *fully Englightened One*, O Brahmin, am I.[3]
Physician incomparable[4]
Godlike, beyond measure,
A crusher of the Devil's army.
Having subjugated all enemies,
I rejoice as one who hath nowhere a fear.

Thou art Buddha, thou art the Master,
Thou art the Sage who overcomest the Devil,
Thou hast cast off all inclinations:
And having crossed over thyself, hast ferried this
[human] race across.

* * * * * * *

46. Lion of his Race.

Revelation V : 5. (默示錄五の五).

Weep not: behold the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath overcome, to open the book and the seven seals thereof.

Numerical Collection V. 99.

"Lion," O monks: this is the appellation of the Tathāgato, the Holy One, the fully Enlightened One. Because, monks, when the Tathāgato proclaims the Doctrine to a company he does so with a lion-voice. If he proclaim it unto monks or nuns, he proclaims it comprehensively, with nothing omitted; and

(3) Numerical Collection I : 13.
(4) Itivutaka, 100.

likewise unto lay-disciples, whether men or women. And if, monks, the Tathāgato proclaim the Doctrine to the common people even, who merely care for food and maintenance and wealth, he proclaims it comprehensively, with naught omitted. What is the reason? The Tathāgato, monks, is weighty in religion, an authority in religion.(1)

(1) 增阿四十二 (N.C. No. 543, 戊三 24 a).
(2) 雜阿三 (N.C. No. 541, 辰二 16 b).(2)
(3) 增阿二十七 (N.C. No. 543, 戊二 36 b).

(1) 如來成就十力, 自知爲無着, 在大衆中能師子吼, 轉於無上梵輪而度衆生。——(2) 如來……說道, 通道, 復能成就聲聞敎授, 敎誡如是, 說正順欣樂善法。——(3) 如來是諸法之王, 諸法之尊。

* * * * * * *

47. The Master Remembers a Preëxistent State.

John XVII: 5. (約翰傳十七の五).

And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.

Logia-Book, 22.

This was spoken by the Lord, spoken by the Arahat and heard by me.

O monks, be not afraid of good works: such is the name for happiness, for what is wished, desired, dear and delightful, namely good works. And for a long time have I known, monks, the wished-for, desired, dear, delightful and severally enjoyed results of good works done for a long time. Having practised Benevolence for seven years, I did not return to this world during seven æons of consummation and restoration. Yea, monks, at the consummation of an æon I was an Angel of Splendor, and at the restoration I rose again in the empty palace of the Brahmās.

(1) Cf. Mark i: 22. And they were astonished at his teaching: for he taught them as having authority, and not as the scribes.

(2) We have no passage wholly agreeing with the Pāli above translated. The Chinese parallels were brought together from three different texts. For the last sentence compare 現身佛と法身佛 p. 80. (A.M.)

Yea, then, O monks, I was a Brahmā—the Great Brahmā, conquering, unconquered, allseeing, controlling. And thirty-six times, O monks, was I Sakko, the lord of the angels; many hunddreds of times I was a king, a righteous emperor, a king of righteousness[1] victorious in the four quarters, securely established in my country, and possessed of the seven treasures. Now what was the doctrine of that region and kindgom? This is what I thought of it, O monks: What deed of mine is this the fruit of? Of what deed is this the result, whereby now I am thus magical and mighty? This is what I thought of it, O monks: This is the fruit of three deeds of mine, of three deeds the result, whereby now I am thus magical and mighty, to wit: alms, control and abstinence.

[The substance of this Sutta is then put into two stanzas,]

Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord said, and thus it was heard by me.

S.P. 修行本起經下 (N.C. No. 664, 辰十 36-37).[2]

佛言, 吾自念宿命, 無數劫時, 本爲凡夫, 初求佛道已來, 精神受形, 周遍五道, 一身死壞, 復受一身, 生死無量。……我更天地成壞者不可稱載也。……世々勤苦不以爲勞, 虛心樂靜, 無爲無欲。捐已布施, 至誠守戒, 謙卑忍辱, 勇猛精進, 一心惟學聖智慧。

[Platonism, Philonism and Mazdeism, with its unincarnate præexistence, are doubtless nearer to the thought of John's Gospel than the Buddhist doctrine; but still there is a parallel.]

* * * * * * *

48. The Master knows God and his Kingdom.

John VI: 46. (約翰傳六の四十六).

Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is from God, he hath seen the Father.

John VII: 29. (約翰傳七の廿九).

I know him; because I am from him, and he sent me.

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(1) Or, King by right, *dharmiko dharmarājā*, the Epic title of a Hindū suzerain.

(2) The Chinese Itivṛtika has not this sutta. The passage is taken from an apopokryph. Preceding this passage we find two stanzas very similar to those of the Pāli Itivuttaka. (A.M.)

John VIII : 42 : 55. (約翰傳八の四十二—五十五)

Jesus said unto them, If God were your Father, ye would love me: for I came forth and am come from God: for neither have I come of myself, but he sent me.....and ye have not known him: but I know him: and if I should say, I know him not, I shall be like unto you, a liar: but I know him and keep his word.

Long Collection, Dialogue 13.

(Translated in S. B. E., XI and in *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, Vol. 2, each time by Rhys Davids: 1881 and 1899).

That man, O Vāseṭṭho, born and brought up at Manasākaṭa, might hesitate or falter when asked the way thereto. But not so does the Tathāgato hesitate or falter when asked of the kingdom of God (world of Brahmā) or the path that goeth thereto. For I, O Vāseṭṭho, know both God and the kingdom of God and the path that goeth thereto; I know it even as one[1] who hath entered the Kingdom of God and been born there.

C.T. 長阿三明經 (N.C. No. 26. of No. 545, 廿九 86).

云何, 婆悉吒, 彼心念國去此遠近,若有人生長彼國, 有餘人問彼國道徑.....彼人 .....答彼道徑, 寧有疑不。 .....若有人來問我梵道無疑也。 所以者何, 我常數々說彼梵道故。.. ...(明識梵道, 能爲人說, 又與梵天相見, 往來言語.....)

* * * * * * * *

49. The Master hears Supernal Voices.

Mark I. 11. (馬可傳一の十一).

A voice came out of the heavens: Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.

[According to Mark, it would appear that this voice was heard by Jesus only. Matthew's Gospel, by altering the verb from the second person to the third, conveys the idea that it was heard by the spectators, as in John XII. 29.]

(1) The Siam text has "even as Brahmā" (i.e., God or archangel). Though the Buddhists held that the supreme Godhead was an office, not a person and that the Buddha himself had held that office in a past eternity (see above) yet they ascribed to the chief Brahma all the Christian titles of the Deity (Long Collection, Dialogues 1 and 11).

Long Collection, Dialogue 14.

(Translated by Albert J. Edmunds: Marvellous Birth of the Buddhas: Philadelphia, 1899, p. 5; second edition, 1903, pp. 5 and 12).

[In answer to the question as to how Buddha gains his knowledge of former existences.]

Monks, this quality is well acquired only by a Tathāgato, whereby he remembers the by-gone Buddhas, *and spiritual beings (devatā) have also told him.*

C.T. 長阿大本經 (N.C. No. 1. of. No. 545, 廿九 1 a).

如來神通威力弘大, 盡知過去無數刼事……亦以諸天來語故知, ……汝等欲聞如來識宿命智, 知於過去諸佛因緣不。

Book of Apparitions (Devatā Saṃyutta, 雜阿偈品天部).

That angel (or, spirit), standing on one side, ejaculated this stanza before the Lord.

時有一天 (or 天子)……却坐一面而說偈言。

[Frequent formula in the Books of Apparitions.]

Logia-Book, 82.

Monks, these three angel-voices go forth among the angels from time to time.

C.T. 本事經 (N.C. No. 714, 長六 51 b).

茲芻當知, 有三時中諸天集會, 〔歡喜詳議更相勸勵〕來降人間。

[They are three exclamations of angelic encouragement: (1) When an ascetic renounces the world; (2) When he has attained the sevenfold wisdom; (3) When he has destroyed the Depravities. (1) 弟子出家時, (2) 弟子正信同修和敬,守護解脫戒時 (3) 弟子諸漏永盡時]。

The passage on Psychical Powers (Parallel 31) affirms that hearing voices of angels and of distant men is one of the gifts of the Master. It is well known that religious geniuses, like Socrates, Fox, Swedenborg, Woolman and Shillito, have always been accustomed to hear voices that guide, warn or encourage them. Some alienists maintain that this is a symptom of insanity. But is not insanity a perversion of real powers? And whereas the voices of genius mean something, those of the mad-

man mean nothing. Take, for example, the voice that told Fox that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify a man to be a minister of Christ. It has lately been pointed out (see *Dictionary of National Biography*, article on Saltmarsh) that the words heard by Fox occur almost verbatim in a work by Saltmarsh, published in 1646, the very year in which Fox heard the voice. The writer in the Dictionary says that Saltmarsh anticipated Fox, but he means as to date of publication. Now what Fox heard may have come direct from the mind of his contemporary fellow mystic which would be sending forth vibrations to impinge upon congenial spirits. In my unpublished review of the great work of Frederic Myers, I have pointed out another coincidence of this kind.]

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50. The Christ remains [on earth] for the Æon.

John XII: 34. (約翰傳十二の卅四).

The multitued therefore answered him, We have heard out of the Law, that the Christ abideth forever [εἰς τον αἰωνα, *for the æon.*]

Enunciations VI, 1. and **Long Collection, Dialogue 16.**

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 40).

Ānando, any one who has practised the four principles of psychical power—developed them, made them active and practical, pursued them, accumulated and striven to the height thereof—can, if he so should wish, remain [on earth] for the æon or the rest of the æon.

Now, Ānando, the Tathāgato has practised and perfected these; and if he so should wish, *the Tathāgato could remain* [on earth] *for the æon* or the rest of the æon.

C.T. 長阿遊行經 (N.C. No. 2. of. No. 545, 廿九 13a).

〔佛告〕阿難, 諸有修四神足多修習行, 常念不忘在意所欲, 可得不死一切有餘。

阿難, 佛四神足已多修行專念不忘在意所欲, 如來可止一切有餘〔爲世除冥, 多所饒益, 天人獲安〕。

[The words in italics agree with those in the Greek of John.

except the mood and tense of the verb. Rendel Harris has pointed out to me that the tense of *μενει* is ambiguous, being either present or future. This is because the oldest manuscripts are without accents. *Tathāgato* is a religious title equivalent to Christ. Its exact meaning is still debated, but its analogy to *Sugato* is obvious, and Rhys Davids' translation of it as *Truth-winner* is probably as near the mark as we shall ever get.

As our text occurs also in the Sanskrit of the Divyāvadāna (which has an independent transmission) its antiquity is certain. Moreover, the Book of the Great Decease and that of Enunciations are two of the oldest in the Pāli, Enunciations being also one of the Nine Divisions of a lost arrangement of the Canon.

The ascription of the saying in John to "the multitude" shows it to have been a current belief at the time of Christ. It is not a New Testament doctrine, though the physical Second Coming has been assimilated to it. Commentators have been at a loss to identify the Old Testament passage ("out of the Law") which is supposed to be quoted. The *Twentieth Century New Testament* proposes the Aramaic version of Isaiah IX: 7 as the source. The learned August Wünsch, in his work on the Gospels and the Talmud, says that the source is unknown. Be that as it may, we have here a verbal Pāli parallel:

ὁ Χριστος μενει εἰς τον αἰωνα: Tathāgato kappaṃ tiṭṭheyya.]

* * * * * * *

51. The Master can renounce or prolong his Life.[1]

John X: 17, 18. (約翰傳十の十七, 十八).

Therefore doth the Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again. No one taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment received I from my Father.

Book of the Great Decease, Chap. 3.

Now not long after the venerable Ānando had gone, Māro the Evil One approached the Lord, and standing beside him, addressed him thus:

(1) This section must be read with No. 50, which it immediately follows in the Pāli.

"O Master, let the Lord now pass into Nirvāna, let the Auspicious One pass into Nirvāna: now, O Master, is the time for the Lord to pass thereto; and moreover this word was spoken by the Lord: O Evil One, I shall not pass into Nirvāna till my monks and nuns, my laymen and laywomen become wise and trained disciples, apt and learned, reciters of the Doctrine, walking in the Doctrine and the precepts, walking consistently, living out the precepts: until they have grasped the teaching for themselves and shall announce and proclaim it, publish, establish and reveal, explain in detail and interpret, so that when a different system shall arise they may thoroughly refute it by the Doctrine and proclaim the Doctrine with its miracles .....

And now, Master, is the Lord's religion spiritually strong, thriving, widespread, popular, ubiquitous,—in a word, made thoroughly public among men. O Master, let the Lord now pass into Nirvāna, let the Auspicious One pass into Nirvāna; now, O Master, is the time for the Lord to pass thereto.

When he had thus spoken, the Lord said unto Māro the Evil One: O Evil One, be content: the Tathāgato's passage into Nirvāna will not be long: at the end of three months from now will the Tathāgato pass thereinto.

Then the Lord, at the Cāpāla shrine, mindful and conscious, *laid down his term of life.* And when his term of life was laid down by the Lord, there was a great earthquake, terrific and appalling, and the thunder[2] burst.

When the Lord saw the event, he uttered upon that occasion this ecstatic Enunciation:

His principle of being, great and small,
His term of life, the Sage laid down;
Steadfast, with inward joy, he broke,
Like coat of mail, his own life-principle.

C.T. 長阿遊行經 (N.C. No. 2. of No. 545, 戾九 13 b).

阿難 .....去 .....其間未久時, 魔破旬來白佛,

"佛, 意無欲可般涅槃, 今正是時, 宜速滅度, ... [初成正覺時.....] 如來即報我言, 止々破旬, 我自知時, 如來今者未即涅槃, 須我諸弟子集 (我衆比丘及比丘尼令皆智慧承用經戒, 勸請未入使學者成, 亦以須我諸清信士及清信女令得智承用經戒未入者入, 受法者成) 天人見神變化乃取滅度

(2) Lit. the divine drums.

佛今弟子已集乃至天人見神變化。 今正是時、何不滅度"。

"佛言, 止々波句, 佛自知時,不久住也, 是後三月……當取滅度"。

……佛即於遮波羅塔, 定意三昧捨命住壽。 當此之時地大震動, 擧國人民莫不驚怖。……

爾時世尊以偈頌曰,

有無二行中　　吾今捨有爲
內專三昧定　　如鳥出於卵。

* * * * * * *

52. Christophany: He who sees the Truth sees the Lord.

John XIV: 6; 18-21. (約翰傳十四の六及十八—廿一).

Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no one cometh unto the Father, but by me .....

Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; how sayest thou, Shew us the Father?.....

I will not leave you orphans: I come unto you. Yet a little while, and the world beholdeth me no more; but ye behold me: because I live, ye shall live also. In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you. He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself unto him [i. e., *appear before before him.*]

Logia Book, 92.

(Partly translated into French by the translator of Minayeff: *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*: Paris, 1894, p. 218).

O monks, even if a monk should gather up the folds of his robe and follow behind me, treading in my footsteps, yet if he be covetous, on lusts intent, bad-hearted, corrupt in his mind's aspiration, heedless, mindless, ill-conducted, with heart confused and unripe faculties, then is he far from me, and I from him. And why? Because, O monks, that monk sees not the Doctrine; and he who sees not the Doctrine sees not me. But if that monk should dwell an hundred leagues away, O monks, and be not covetous, nor intent on lusts, not bad-hearted nor corrupt in his mind's aspiration, but heedful, mindful, well-conducted, with

concentrated heart and faculties restrained, then is he near to me, and I to him. And why? Because, O monks, that monk sees the Doctrine; and HE WHO SEES THE DOCTRINE SEES ME.

S.P. 增阿二十 (N.C. No. 543, 戊一 87 a).
已其觀法者觀我，〔已有法則有我〕。

[The word *Doctrine* is the ubiquitous *Dhamma*, Sanskrit *Dharma*: and can be equally translated *Truth* or *Religion*.]

Collection of Suttas, Stanzas 1139-1144.

(Translated by Fausböll: S. B. E. X., part 2, p. 212).

From Him I am never absent,
O Brahmin, for a moment—
[Never absent] from Gotamo, the great of intellect,
From Gotamo, in wisdom great.

'Twas he who taught me the Doctrine
Of instantaneous, immediate peace,
And destruction of Thirst,
Whose likness is nowhere.

Him do I see in my mind, as with an eye,
Vigilant, O Brahmin, night and day:
Worshipping I pass the night:
Therefore, I ween, am I never absent.

Faith and joy, mind and memory,
Bend me unto Gotamo's religion.
What way soever goeth the Great Intellect,
That way, and that only, am I bent.

Of me who am aged and tottering
The body therefore fareth not thither,
But in imagination I go ever;
For, O Brahmin! my mind is yoked with him.

Shivering in the mire,
From island unto island did I leap,
Until I saw the fully Enlightened,
The Flood-crossed, the Unsullied.

[The commentary, says Fausböll, here states that Gotamo, knowing from afar the mental state of this monk and his companion, sent forth a golden light, and stood before them in apparition. A similar Christophany is related in the Introductory Story to Jātaka No. 4. But in Jātaka No. 2, personal devotion to the Master is placed on a lower level than solitary thought. And this indeed is one of the great differences between Buddhism and Christianity. In the Canonical texts here translated we have, as in the Johannine Gospel, the philosophic basis for visions of the Master.]

* * * * * * *

53. Saving Faith in the Lord.

John XI : 26. (約翰傳十一の廿六).

Whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die.

Luke XXIII : 42, 43. (路加傳廿三の四十二, 三).

Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom. And he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

Middling Collection, Dialogue 22.

(Partly translated by Copleston : *Buddhism*, 1892, p. 30).

Thus, O monks, is the Doctrine well taught by me—plain, patent, clear, and with the old cloth cut away. Seeing, O monks, that the Doctrine is thus well taught by me—plain, patent, clear, and with the old cloth cut away,—all those who have merely faith and love toward me are sure of Paradise hereafter.

C.T. 中阿阿黎吒經 (N.C. No. 200 of No. 542, 戾七 66).

我法善說，發露廣布無有空缺……。如是我法善說發露廣布無有空缺……若有信樂於我而命終者皆生善處。

Numerical Collection X, 64.

Monks, those who believe in me are all assured of final salvation (literally : *have entered the Stream*).

* * * * * * *

54. Damnatory Unbelief in the Lord.

John III. 36. (約翰傳三の卅六).

He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life; but he that obeyeth [or, believeth] not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.

Aristion's Appendix (Mark XVI. 16).

He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned.

Matthew X. 33. (馬太傳十の卅三).

Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

Mark VIII. 38. (馬可傳八の卅八).

Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

Middling Collection, Dialogue 12.

(Not in the Chinese Middling Collection).

Sāriputto, these are the Tathāgato's ten Tathāgato-powers wherewith endowed the Tathāgato understands the extraordinary, utters his lion-voice among assemblies, and sets rolling the wheel divine. And any one, Sāriputto, who would say to me, with this my knowledge and perception: "The philosopher Gotamo has no qualities beyond the human and no distinction of complete noble knowledge and insight; the philosopher Gotamo preaches a doctrine thought out by reasoning, excogitated by his own wit" —if he repent not of this speech and thought, if he relinquish not this heresy, he is cast into hell as he deserves. Likewise, O Sāriputto, a monk who has attained to ethics, to trance, to intellection, and who would strive for knowledge in this present world, I say, Sāriputto, that he, with all his attainments, if he repent not of this speech and thought, if he relinquish not this heresy, is cast into hell as he deserves.

C.P. 增阿四十二 (N.C. No. 543, 成三 24 b, 25 a).[1]

(T. 雜阿二十六 (N.C. No. 544, 成三 52).

如來有此十力，爲無著……(得先佛勝處智)，在大衆中作師子吼，轉於梵輪。……若復有沙門婆羅門，欲來誹謗佛不成等正覺者，……言未盡有漏者……言未盡苦際者，——者墮惡趣者。

* * * * * * *

55. The Lord Saves from Hell.

John III : 16, 17. (約翰傳三の十六、十七).

For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God sent not the Son into the world to judge the world ; but that the world should be saved through him.

Jude 23. (猶太廿三).

And some save, snatching them out of the fire ; and on some have mercy with fear ; hating even the garment spotted by the flesh.

Long Collection, Dialogue No. 12.

(No. 29 in the Chinese).[2] (Translated in Rhys Davids's *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1899).

Lohicco the Brahmin spake thus unto the Lord : "O Gotamo, just as if a man had caught another by the hair who was falling over the precipice of hell, lifted him up, and set him safe upon firm land ; just even so have I, who was falling over

(1) This sūtra in the Chinese Ekottara corresponds to the two paragraphs of the Pāli Majjhima No. 12, beginning with the words *dasa kho pan' imāni* and ending with *evaṃ nirayo* (ed. Trenckner pp. 69-71). The clause corresponding to *āsabhaṇ-ṭhānaṃ patijānāti* is supplied (in brackets) from a sūtra in the Saṃyukta corresponding to the Saṃyutta XII. 21.

In the Chinese there seem some confusions to have crept in ; i.e. saying against the Buddha is followed by the sentences following in the Pāli the part above translated. Buddha says that he is not disturbed by these scoldings &c. Still the condemnation (the last five Chinese characters) is inserted among these words in an unconnected way. (A.M.)

(2) The Chinese does not preserve this speech of Lohiccho (露遮) but makes him utter the usual formula of taking refuge in Buddha, Saṅgha and Dharma. (A.M.)

the precipice of hell, been lifted up and set safe upon firm land by Gotamo."

[Fausböll and Rhys Davids translate *bho Gotamo!* by "venerable Gotamo." I have translated *bho*, when standing alone, as "friend:" one might have said "gentleman," in the low complimentary sense denounced by Tennyson. *Bho*, when coupled with a name, is a familiar address, equivalent to our calling a man Smith or Jones without the "Mister." The Buddhists resented this arrogant familiarity on the part of the Brahmins toward the Master, and nicknamed the entire priestly caste "Bho-callers," in consequence. Gotamo was the Master's family or clan-name, answering to our Smith, etc.; and rightly to appreciate the snobbery of the Brahmins, we must imagine them saying: "Shakespeare, I want to talk to you."]

Long Collection, Dialogue 20 also **Classified Collection Book 1.**[3]

(Translated by Gogerly in Grimblot's *Sept Suttas Pālis:* Paris, 1876, p. 290).

Those who take refuge with Buddha
Will go not unto future state of woe:
When the human body they abandon,
They will perfect the angelic body.
[Or, replenish the angel-host.]

C.T. 長阿大會經 (N.C. No. 19 of No. 545, 戾九 65 a).

諸歸依佛者　　終不墮惡趣
捨此人中形　　受天清淨身

[In the uncanonical *Milinda* (p. 80) the King says: "You [Buddhists] say this: That if a man have done evil for a hundred years, and at the moment of death cherish a single thought of Buddha, he is born among the angels. I don't believe this."

There is a story, in Jātaka 94, of the Bodhisat, who was then a naked ascetic, seeing a vision of hell when he was dying, becoming thereby immediately enlightened, and being born in the devo-heaven. In Jātaka, 391, and all ascetics are expelled by the King of Benāres, and the people become savage, and transmigrate into states of woe.]

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(3) Cf. 雜阿含經 (N.C. No. 544, 戾四 57 a) and 別雜片 (N.C. No. 546, 戾九 35 a).

56. The Spiritual Life is Quickened by Devotion to the Master and his Doctrine.

John VI : 51 ; 62, 63. (約翰傳六の五十一及六十二, 三).

I am the living bread which came down out of heaven : if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever.....[What] then if ye should behold the Son of man ascending where he was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: *the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are life.*

John VIII : 31, 32. (約翰傳八の卅一, 二).

If ye abide in my word, [then] are ye truly my disciples; and ye shall know the truth, and *the truth shall make you free.*

(Cf. also Matth. XI : 28, 29 : XVIII : 20 : Rev. III : 10).

Classified Collection XI : 1, 3.

Of yore, O monks, there was a battle raging between the angels and the devils. And Sakko, the leader of the angels, addressed thus the angels of the Thirty-three : "Comrades, if fear, dismay or horror should arise among angels who have gone to battle, look up to MY standard at that time. Unto you who look up to the standard by me, whatever fear, dismay or horror there may be, shall be done away,

"If ye look not up to my standard, then look up to the standard of Pajāpati, the angel-King. Surely unto you who look up thereunto, whatever fear, dismay or horror there may be, shall be done away. If to Pajāpati's banner ye look not up, then look up to Varuṇo's ; if not to his, then to Isāno's ; for unto you who do so, your fear, dismay or horror shall be done away."

C.T. 增阿十四 (N.C. No. 513, 戊一 57 a).

世爾告諸比丘,... .....昔者天帝釋告三十三天, 卿等若人大戰時, 設有恐怖畏懼之心者, 汝等還顧視我高廣之幢。 設見我幢者便無畏怖。

"若不憶我幢者當憶伊沙 (Içana) 天王幢, 以憶彼幢者, 所有畏怖便自消滅。 若[不憶我幢及]不憶伊沙幢者, 爾時當憶婆留那 (Varuṇa) 天王幢, 已憶彼幢, 所有恐怖便自消滅"。

What is the reason of this? Because, O monks, the angel-leader, Sakko, is not devoid of passion, hate and folly, but is fearful, dismayed and daunted, and ready to flee. But I, monks, tell you this: If dismay or horror should arise among you who have gone [to meditate] in forest, by tree-root, or in wilderness, at that time think of ME. Say to yourselves: The Lord indeed is the Holy One, the real Buddha, endowed with wisdom in conduct, auspicious, knowing the universe, a matchless charioteer of men who are tamed, a Master of angels and mortals, Buddha the Lord! For, monks, unto you who think of me, whatever fear, dismay or horror there may be, shall be done away.

If ye think not of me, then think of the Doctrine (or, *the Truth*), and say: Well taught is the Doctrine by the Lord: 'tis present, immediate, inviting, leading onward, universal, intelligible, intelligent! *For unto you, monks, who think of the Doctrine, whatever fear, dismay or horror there may be, shall be done away.*

If ye think not of the Doctrine, then think upon the Order, and say: Walking in goodness is the Lord's Order of disciples; walking uprightly, consistently, respectably is the Lord's Order of disciples: to wit, the four pairs of typical men, the eight individual types. The Lord's Order of disciples is worshipful, worthy of invitation and support, venerable, the matchless field of merit for the world! Surely, monks, unto you who think upon the Order, whatever fear, dismay or horror there may be, shall be done away.

What is the reason? Because the Tathāgato, monks, the Holy One, the real Buddha, is free from passion, hate and folly; is fearless, undaunted, undismayed and fleeth not away.

———我今亦復告汝等，設有比丘比丘尼 …… ———若有畏怖衰毛豎者，爾時當念我身，此是如來，至眞等正覺，明行成爲，善逝，世間解，無上士，道法御，天人師號佛衆祐出現於世。設有恐怖衰毛豎者便自消滅。

若復不念我者，爾時當念於法，如來法者甚爲微妙，智者所學。以念法所有恐怖便自消滅。

設[不念我,]復不念法，爾時當念聖衆，如來聖衆極爲和順，法成就，戒成就，三昧成就，智慧成就，解脫成就，解脫見慧成就，所謂四雙八輩。此是如來聖衆可敬可事，世間福田 ……爾時若念僧已，所有恐怖自消滅。

比丘當知，釋提桓因猶有淫怒癡，然三十三天念其主即無恐怖。況復如來無有欲怒癡心，當念有恐怖乎 ……

[In pointing out this passage to a Christian acquaintance, he remarked that the Buddhist sequence here was wrong, i. e., the reverse of the Christian. First, said he, in temptation, comes the thought of the church; then, when harder pressed, of the teaching; and at last, in deadliest peril, of the Christ who died for us. But Gotamo always put devotion to himself on a lower level than meditation upon infinite Truth.]

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57. Power over Evil Spirits and Association with Angels.

Mark III: 11. (馬可傳三の十一).

The unclean spirits, whensoever they beheld him, fell down before him, and cried, saying, Thou art the Son of God.

Matthew XXVI: 53. (馬太傳廿六の五十三).

Thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father, and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels?

John I: 51. (約翰傳一の五一).

Verily verily, I say unto you, Ye shall see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man.

Enunciations I: 7.

Thus have I heard. At one season the Lord was staying at Pātali, at the Goat-beard Shrine, in the haunt of the Goblin Goat-beard. Now at that season the Lord was sitting throughout the thick darkness of the night in the open air, and one by one an angel would touch him. Then the Goblin Goat-beard, being seized with fear and bristling terror, approached the Lord, and when near him uttered thrice his cry of "Blighted! Affrighted!" and said in his fright: "This demon is thine, O Prophet!"

Then the Lord, when he had understood the fact, gave vent, upon that occasion, to the following Enunciation:

"When the Brahmin hath passed beyond his own ideas (*dhammā*),
Then doth he overcome this demon and monster."

[The Pāli *Samaṇo*, in contradistinction to *Brāhmaṇo*, is precisely the Old Testament prophet as against the priest. Buddha, however, persistently idealized the word "Brahmin," as in our present stanzas, to mean Arahat. But in the familiar phrase, *samaṇa-brāhmaṇā*, the word is used in its usual sense, and I should translate: "prophets and priests," or "philosophers and brahmins." The *samaṇas* were the freethinking ascetics of the caste of the nobles, like Gotamo himself, who did not believe in priestly orthodoxy. They united the qualities of the Hebrew prophet and the Greek philosopher, having the fervor of the one and the dialectic of the other.]

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58. In the World, but not of the World.

John XVII: 14-16. (約翰傳十七の十四—十六).

I have given them thy word; and the world hated them, because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world.

Classified Collection XXII, 94.

Monks, even as a blue lotus, a water-rose or a white lotus is born in the water, grows up in the water, and stands lifted above it, by the water undefiled: even so, monks, does the Tathāgato grow up in the world, and abide in the mastery of the world, by the world undefiled.

S.P. 佛本行集經 (N.C. No. 680, 辰八 50 b).
(Cf. 現身佛と法身佛法 pp. 42-43, 212-213)

猶如芬陀利在水　　雖復處在於水中
而不爲水之所沾　　我在世間亦復爾

* * * * * * *

59. Anti-Docetic: the Lord was a real Man.

I John IV: 2, 3. (約翰第一書四の二, 三).

Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit which

confesseth that Jesus Chist is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God: and this is the [spirit] of the antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it cometh; and now it is in the world already.

[Some ancient authorities read *annulleth Jesus*. (Note by the Revisers of 1881). The Vulgate has: *every spirit that dissolveth Jesus*, i. e., divides the man Jesus from the spiritual being, Christ (early Christian Unitarianism); or maintains that the Lord's boby was apparitional and unreal (Docetism—a heresy common to both Christians and Buddhists). The words in the Athanasian Creed, "man of the substance of his mother, born in the world," were expressly inserted to guard against this heresy].

Statement of Theses XVIII. 1.

(*Kāthavatthu*, a book of the Third Pitaka, the *Abhidhammo*, aimed against heretics. It is a sort of Buddhist Irenæus or Hippolytus, and even according to the Ceylon Chronicles, was added to the Canon of the Elders last of all, at the Council of Patna, about B. C. 250. Several sects, however, refused to canonize it.)

[You say] it ought not to be said that the Lord Buddha stood in the world of men?

Yes.

Are there not the Buddha's alms-rounds—the relic-shrines, the parks, lodges, villages, towns and cities, the kingdoms and countries?

Yes.

Well, then, if the Buddha's alms-rounds be relic-shrines, parks, etc., therefore assuredly it ought to be said that the Lord Buddha stood in the world of men. [Yet you still say] it ought not to be said that the Lord Buddha stood in the world of men?

Yes.

But was not the Lord born at Lumbinī and enlightened at the root of the Bo-tree? Was not the wheel of the Religion set rolling by the Lord at Benāres; did he not lay down his term of life at the Cāpāla shrine, and pass into Nirvāna at Kusinārā?

Yes.

Well, then, it assuredly follows that the Lord stood in the world of men. [You still say] it ought not to be said that the Lord stood in the world of men?

Yes.

But was it not said by the Lord: Monks, I once was staying

at High-town in Pleasant Grove, at the foot of the great sāl-tree? And again, Once I was staying at Uruvelā at the Goat-herd's Banyan tree, soon after my Enlightenment: and again, I once was staying at Rājagaha, in the Bambū Grove, the Squirrels' feeding-ground; and again, Once I was staying, O monks, at Sāvatthi in the Victor's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor; and again, Once I was staying at Vesāli at Pagoda Hall in the Great Forest. Is not all this Scripture (*Suttanto*)?

Yes.

Therefore indeed the Lord stood in the world of men. [You now admit then that] the Lord Buddha stood in the world of men?

Yes.

Was not the Lord born in the world, enlightened in the world, and did he not dwell overcoming the world, by the world undefiled?

Yes.

Well, then, if this be so, it must assuredly be said by us that the Lord Buddha stood in the world of men.

[Here we see early Buddhist orthodoxy fighting the same battle as early Christian orthodoxy—maintaining that the Lord was a real man of flesh and blood against the extravagant theory that he was phantasmal, transcendental, beyond the world (*lokuttaro*). The passage about dwelling in the world undefiled was one which was wrested by the Docetists to mean that the Lord was non-incarnate.]

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60. Self-Consciousness of the Master,

John X. 8. (約翰第十の八).

All that came before me are thieves and robbers.

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E. XI, p. 107).

O Subhaddo, in whatever religious system the Noble Eightfold Path is found, in that alone is found a philosopher, even unto the second, third and fourth [degrees]. Void of philosophers are other systems.

C.T. 長阿遊行經 (N.C. No. 2. of No. 545, 伏九 21 a).

須跋, 今我法中有八聖道, 有第一沙門果, 第二, 第三, 第四沙門果。 外道異衆無沙門果。

[There is no need to hunt up more texts under this head: the whole of Part IV. is full of them. To call this consciousness of greatness megalomania is absurd. Megalomania is a false consciousness of greatness, but the consciousness of genius is a true one. Wordsworth was not a megalomaniac because he was conscious that future ages would rank him as a great poet. It is a common mistake to confound the confidence of knowledge with the conceit of ignorance. Genius is always self-conscious, however much modesty may suppress it.]

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PART V.

CLOSING SCENES; THE FUTURE OF THE CHURCH; ESCHATOLOGY.

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61. Transfiguration.

Mark IX: 2-8. (馬可傳九の二—八).

After six days Jesus taketh with him Peter, and James, and John, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart by themselves: and he was transfigured before them: and his garments became glistering, exceeding white; so as no fuller on earth can whiten them. And there appeared unto them Elijah with Moses: and they were talking with Jesus. And Peter answereth and saith to Jesus, Rabbi, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah. For he wist not what to answer; for they became sore afraid. And there came a cloud overshadowing them: and there came a voice out of the cloud, This is my beloved Son: hear ye him. And suddenly looking round about, they saw no one any more, save Jesus only with themselves.

Luke IX: 30, 31. (路加傳九の卅, 卅一).

And behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elijah; who appeared in glory, and *spake of his decease* which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem.

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 80).

Now not long after Pukkuso the Mallian had gone, the venerable Ānando placed upon the person of the Lord that pair

of gold-cloth robes, burnished and ready for wear. And when so placed upon the person of the Lord, it appeared bereft of its brightness.

And the venerable Ānando said unto the Lord: "Wonderful, O Lord! Marvellous, O Lord! that the color of the Tathāgato's skin should be so pure and purified. For when I placed upon the person of the Lord this pair of gold-cloth robes, burnished and ready for wear, it appeared bereft of its brightness."

"Ānondo, it is even so. There are two occasions, Ānando, when the color of a Tathāgato's skin becomes pure and exceeding purified. What are two?

"On the night, Ānando, wherein a Tathāgato is supernally enlightened with incomparable and perfect enlightenment, and on the night when he enters Nirvāna with that kind[1] of Nirvāna which leaves no substrata behind: on these two occasions the color of a Tathāgato's skin becomes pure and exceeding purified. And now, Ānando, this day, in the third watch of the night, in the garden ground of Kusinārā, in the sāl-grove of the Mallians, between the twin sāl-trees will take place the Tathāgato's passage into Nirvāna. Come, Ānando, let us go on to the river Kakutthā."

"Even so, Lord," said the venerable Ānando, in assent unto the Lord.

The pair of burnished gold-cloth robes were brought by Pukkuso:

The Master, when begirt therewith, in golden color shone.

C.T. 長阿遊行經 (N.C. No. 2. of No. 545, 戾九 16 b).

福貴[2] (or 弗迦婆 Pukasa?) .....去來久, 阿難尋以黃疊[3]上如來。〔如來哀愍即爲受之〕被於身上, 爾時世尊顏貌從容威光熾盛, 〔諸根清淨, 面色和悅〕。

阿難見已.....白佛言, "自我得侍佛二十五年, 未曾有佛光色如金, 不審何緣, "——願聞其意"。

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(1) See Itivuttaka 44, (Chinese II. 1. 18), for the two kinds of Nirvāna. I do not fear translate thus in view of this remarkable passage, so obviously referred to in our text. One line of the primitive Itivuttaka is worth whole pages of the developed Dialogues.

(2) No. 119. (戾十 42 a) 福闕 (Pukke?)
No. 118. (戾十 27) 弗迦婆 (Pukasa?)
No. 552. (戾十 16) 胞罽 (A M.)

(3) No. 119. (戾十 42 a) 黃金氈, No. 552, (戾十 16) 金織氈布 (A.M.)

〔佛告阿難〕"有二因緣, 如來光色有殊於常——
一者, 佛初得道成無上正眞覺時, 二者, 臨終欲滅度捨於性命般涅槃時, 阿難以此二緣光色殊常。 (汝今當知, 我於今者後夜分盡, 在鳩尸那城力士生地, 熙連河側婆羅雙樹間入般涅槃)。[4]

[The stanza proclaims the antiquity of the story. The "two occasion," Illumination and Great Decease, find their Christian counterparts in the opened heavens at Baptism and at Transfiguration. On each occasion the heavenly voice was heard, while on the second the subject of conversation with Moses and Elijah was, according to Luke, the Decease or Exodus about to be accomplished at Jerusalem. Here again Luke has one of those obscure agreements with Buddhism which we have noticed so often. Apart from any mere Divine Hero-legend we have, both in the Illumination and the Transfiguration, authentic elements of fact.

Dr. Henry Leffmann, of Philadelphia, in his essay on the Mental Condition of Jesus (1904) considers this phenomenon the result of hypnotic sleep, whereinto the Lord had put the disciples. But the Buddhist parallel points to another explanation. The Transfiguration is only another form of the Wraith which appears before death. Now, *these sacred dramas make the hero experience all the mystic events which are believed to happen to men.* Modern psychical research has shown that some of them do happen. I do not know of any case of Transfiguration in the Psychical Society's Proceedings, but have personal knowledge of one. A soldier in the Civil War was hit in the head by a spent ball; there was no apparent wound, but he died three or four weeks afterwards. His mother said that *shortly before death his whole body was luminous.* I took this account from an acquaintance who had it from the percipient, and give it for what it is worth. Others, better authenticated, will be doubtless collected.]

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62. Last Look at the old Scenes.

Mark XI: 11. (馬可傳十一の十一).

And he entered into Jerusalem, into the temple; and when

(4) The passage in parenthesis supplied from No. 118 (戾十 28 a). The passage from this point up to the stanza (Rhys Davids ' 51) is found in no Chinese version. (A.M.)

he had looked round about upon all things, it being now eventide, he went out unto Bethany with the twelve.

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 64).

Now the Lord, having dressed betimes, took his bowl in his robe and entered Vesāli for alms; and when he had passed through Vesāli, and had eaten his meal and was returning from the quest of alms, he gazed upon Vesāli with an elephant-look, and addressed the venerable Ānando, saying: "Ānando, this will be last time that the Tathāgato will look upon Vesāli!"

C.T. 般泥洹經上 (N.C. No. 119, 帙十 40 a).[1]

Cf. 增阿三十六 (N.C. No. 543, 帙三 2b).

佛樂(遊?)維耶(離), 過國中出城門, 廻身右轉視門而笑. .....

"是我最後見維耶離故視笑耳"

〔於是佛自頌曰

是吾之最後 遊觀維耶離 將逝彼泥洹 不復受有身〕

* * * * * * *

63. Apostolic Succession.

Matthew XVI: 17-19. (馬太傳十六の十七—十九).

And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

Middling Collection, Dialogue 111.

Monks, it is only of Sāriputto that one can truly say: He is a lawful son of the Lord, born of his mouth, born of his religion, spiritually created, a spiritual kinsman, not a carnal one. Sāriputto, O monks, keeps up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathāgato.

(1) This passage is omitted in other three versions. (A.M.)

C.T. 中阿請々經 (No. 121 of No. 542, 戻六 41 a).[1]

汝等輩, 是我眞子, 從口生法, 法所化..... ——舍利子, 我所轉法輪汝亦能轉。

Numerical Collection I, 13.

Monks, I do not perceive another single individual who keeps up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathāgato, excepting Sāriputto.

Sāriputto, O monks, keeps up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathāgato.

Numerical Collection V. 132.

Monks, the eldest son of a king who is a world-ruler (*Cakkavatti*) is endowed with five attributes, and keeps up the empire (lit., keeps the wheel rolling) set going by his father by righteousness alone: that is the wheel which cannot be turned back by any human being, by any hostile hand.

What are the five attributes?

In this world, monks, the eldest son of a king who is a world-ruler is worldly wise and spiritually wise, temperate, wise in the times, and wise in the assemblies.

Monks, the eldest son of a king who is a world-ruler is endowed with these five attributes, and keeps up the empire set going by his father by righteousness alone: that is the wheel which cannot be turned back by any human being, by any hostile hand.

Exactly thus, monks, does Sāriputto, with five qualities (*dhammā*) endowed, keep up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathāgato: that is the wheel which cannot be turned back by philosopher or brahmin, angel or Tempter, arch-angel, or anyone in the world.

What are the five qualities?

In this world, monks, is Sāriputto world-wise, spiritually wise, temperate, wise in the times and wise in the assemblies. With these five qualities endowed, monks, does Sāriputto keep up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathāgato: that is the wheel which cannot be turned back by philosopher or brahmin, angel or Tempter, archangel, or any one in the world.

(1) Cf. 現身佛と法身佛 pp. 182-185.

C.P. 增阿二十四 (N.C. No. 543, 大二 19 b).

——猶如轉輪聖王最大太子, 當紹王位轉於法輪, 舍利弗亦如是, 轉於無上法輪, 諸天世人及龍鬼魔若魔天本所不轉。

[We have in another passage of the Chinese Ekottara (大三 52 a) a parallel to this. Buddha proclaims himself to be the King (Cf. Parallel 45.) and trusts his Religion to Ānanda's care and says:

若興此法者便爲佛長子。

Any one who propagates this Religion is the heir to Buddha. (A.M.)]

* * * * * * *

64. Holy Scripture: the Old and the New.

Matthew V: 17, 18. (馬太傳五の十七, 十八).

Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destory, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one little shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished.

Matthew V: 21, 22; 33, 34, &c. (馬太傳五の廿一, 廿二等).

Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time..... But I say unto you .....

Mark XIII: 31. (馬太傳十三の卅一).

Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away.

1 Timothy VI: 3, 4. (提摩太前書六の三, 四).

If any man teacheth a different doctrine, and consenteth not to sound words, [even] the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; he is puffed up, knowing nothing, but doting about questionings and disputes of words.

Numerical Collection VI, 185.

Once the Lord was staying at Rājagaha, upon the Mount of Vulture-Peak, and at that season many highly distinguished

friars [1] of Serpentine [River] were dwelling upon the bank in the friars' cloister-garden: there were Antabhāro, Varadharo, Sakuludāyi the friar, and other highly distinguished friars.

Now the Lord, having arisen from retirement at eventide, approached the friars' cloister-garden on the bank where the Serpentine [River] men were. And just then, among the non-Buddhist friars who were sitting assembled together, there arose a conversation about the Truths of the Brahmins.

Thereupon the Lord approached the friars and sat upon a seat made ready for him; and so sitting he said to them: "Friars, what is the subject of your present conversation sitting here, and what was your topic which was interrupted?"

"Gotamo, while sitting together here, have been talking about the Truths of the Brahmins."

"Friars, there are these four truths of the Brahmins which have been realized by me by my own higher knowledge, and made known. What are the four?

"Friars, in this world a Brahmin says thus: ALL LIVES ARE IGNORANCE. In so speaking he tells the truth and not falsehood. He thinks therefore: 'There is no such distinction as philosopher or Brahmin; I am neither better, alike, nor worse.' And whatever truth is there is his by higher knowledge, and he enters into pity and compassion for all lives.

"And again, O friars, a Brahmin says: ALL LUSTS ARE EVANESCENT, PAINFUL AND FRAUGHT WITH CHANGE. He comes to the same conclusion as before, and the truth therein is his by higher knowledge, and he enters into disgust with, detachment from, and cessation of, all lusts.

"Again, O friars, Brahmin says: ALL EXISTENCES ARE EVANESCENT, PAINFUL AND FRAUGHT WITH CHANGE. Again he comes to the same conclusion, and the truth therein is his by higher knowledge, and he enters into disgust with, detachment from, and cessation of, all existences.

"Moreover, O friars, a Brahmin says: THERE IS NO FUNDAMENTAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN ME AND ANYONE ELSE.[2] In saying so, the Brahmin speaks truth and not falsehood. He therefore

(1) For a description of the friars or wandering philosophers of ancient India see Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*: London, 1903, p. 141.

(2) Warren translates this sentence literally: "I am nowhere a somewhatness for anyone, and nowhere for me is there a so newhatness of anyone." (*Buddhism in Translations*, p. 145, from the Visuddhi-magga).

reflects: 'There is no such distinction as philosopher or Brahmin; I am neither better, alike, nor worse.' And whatever truth is there is his by higher knowledge and he enters upon the path, which is nothingness itself.

"These, O friars, are the four truths of the Brahmins which have been realized by me by my own higher knowledge and made known."

S.T. 雜阿十 (N.C. No. 544, 辰二 54b).

[Here Ānanda speaks to Chanda (闡陀) when, after the Master's death, doubts as to the truth of the four principles occurd to the mind of the latter.—The place is Koçambī.]

時闡陀語尊者阿難言, "一時諸上座比丘住婆羅捺國仙人住處鹿野苑中。 時我晨朝着衣持鉢, 入婆羅捺城乞食, 乞食已還攝衣鉢洗足已, 持戶鉤, 從林至林, 從房至房。 … …時諸比丘爲我說法言, 色無常, 受想行識無常 (*skandhā anityāḥ*) 一切行無常 (*sarva-saṃskārā anityāḥ*), 一切法無我 (*sarvadharmā anātmanaḥ*), 涅槃寂滅 (*nirvāṇaṃ vyūpoçamaṃ*)。 然我不喜聞一切諸行空寂, 不可得愛盡離欲涅槃, 此中云何有我而言如是知如是見, 是名見法。 ……尊者阿難今當爲我說法, 令我知法見法"。 ……

時尊者阿難語闡陀言, "…我親從佛聞, …世人顛倒依於二邊, 若有若無。……若不受不取不住不計於我, 此苦生時生, 滅時滅。 ……於此不疑不惑, 不由於他而能自知, 是名正見。……如實正觀世間集者, 則不生世間無見。 如實正觀世間滅, 則不生世間有見。…… 如來離於二邊, 說於中道, 所謂此有故彼有, 此生故彼生。 謂緣, 無明, 有行乃至生老病死憂悲惱苦集, 所謂此無故彼無, 此滅故彼滅。…… ……"

First Sermon.

(Major Section on Discipline I, 6.
Translated in S. B. E. XIII, p. 96, and XI. p.159)

Insight, knowledge, intellection, wisdom and intuition arose within me, saying: "This is the Noble Truth concerning Pain." [It was], O monks, among doctrines not formerly transmitted.

C.T. 五分律十五 (N.C. No. 1122, 張一 91a).

是法已知, 我先未聞。 眼生, 智生, 明生, 覺生, 通生, 慧生, 是苦聖諦。

[For the stereotyped passage about the sacred lore of the Brahmins, see S. B. E. X, part 2, p. 97; for Atharva Veda, p. 168.

For training in the Buddhist Scriptures, Dhp. 259 and 363, and my notes, pp. 61 and 89.]

Numerical Collection II, 2.

Monks, these two qualities conduce to the confusion and decline of the Gospel.

What two?

Faulty remembrance (or, preservation) of the text and faulty explanation of the meaning. Monks, when a text is ill remembered, the meaning also is ill explained. These two qualities, O monks, conduce to the confusion and decline of the Gospel.

There are two qualities which conduce to the stability of the Gospel, with no confusion and with no decline. What two?

Good remembrance of the text and good explanation of the meaning. Monks, when a text is well remembered, the meaning also is well explained. These two qualities, O monks, conduce to the stability of the Gospel, with no confusion and with no decline.

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65. The Spread of the Gospel.

Mark XIII: 10. (馬可傳十三の十).

The Gospel must first be preached unto all the nations.

Matthew XXIV: 14. (馬太傳廿四の十四).

This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come.

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 53).

O Evil One, I shall not pass into Nirvāna [i. e., die] till my monks and nuns, my laymen and laywomen, become wise and trained disciples, apt and learned, reciters of the Doctrine, [&c. as in No. 51.] O Evil One, I shall not pass into Nirvāna, till this religion of mine is successful, prosperous, widespread, popular, ubiquitous; in a word, made thoroughly public among men.

C.T. 般泥洹經上 (N.C. No. 119, 戾卜 39 a).
Cf. 長阿遊行經 (N.C. No. 2. of No. 545., 戾九 14 b).
大般涅槃經上 (N.C. No. 118, 戾十 22 a).

〔佛報波旬言〕吾所以至於是未滅度者, 須我衆比丘及比丘尼, 令皆智慧承用經戒, 勸請未入, 使學者成, 亦以須我諸清信士及清信女令得智慧承用經戒, 未入者入, 受法者成。 如是波旬吾以待此四輩弟子皆得法意, 展轉相教, 解諸童蒙, 使學成就。 是以至今未滅度耳。

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66. Decline of the Faith.

With Remarks on Maitreya.

Matthew XXIV. 11, 12. (馬太傳廿四の十一, 十二).

Many false prophets shall arise, and shall lead many astray. And because iniquity shall be multiplied, the love of the many shall wax cold.

Luke XVIII. 8. (路加傳十八の八).

When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?

Numerical Collection V. 79.[1]

Monks, the following five future dangers (or, fears for the future), though not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake, must struggle to avert them. What are the five?

Monks, there will be monks in the far future, wanting in physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control; and being so, they will confer Initiation upon others, and will not be able to train them in superior morals, emotions and intelligence. These, being also without the aforesaid control, will initiate others in

(1) Translated from the *Anāgata-bhayāni* (Future Dangers), one of the texts among the selections of the Emperor Asoko, in his Edict at Bhabra, and found in the Numerical Collection, V. 77-80. Chapters 77 and 78 deal with the personal dangers for monks in any age, including Buddha's own. In Chapter 77 they practise religion for security against the dangers of the forest: snakes, scorpions, centipedes, etc. In Chapter 78 they practise it for security in old age or times of trial. We now translate Chapter 79 entire.

their turn, who will keep up the same states of things. And so, monks, from corruption of doctrine [will come] corruption of discipline, and from corruption of discipline corruption of doctrine.

This, monks, is the first future danger which, though not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must awake thereto, and being awake, must struggle to avert it.

Again, monks, there will be monks in the far future wanting in control as before, who being so will give asylum to others, and they will not be able to train them in superior morals, emotions and intelligence. These will give asylum to yet others, and so [there will be] more corruption of discipline from doctrine, and of doctrine from discipline.

This, monks, is the second future danger, which will come and must be guarded against.

Again, monks, there will be monks in the far future without physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control, and being so, when they discourse upon the Higher Doctrine (*Abhidhammo*) and the Exegesis (*Vedalla*) they will not be awake, descending into doctrine dark.[2] And so, monks, [there will be] corruption of discipline from corruption of doctrine, and corruption of doctrine from corruption of discipline.

This, monks, is the third future danger which, though not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake must struggle to avert it.

[3][Again,] monks, there will be monks in the far future, [wanting in physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control; and they being thus wanting in physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control,] there are Dialogues (*Suttantā*) spoken by the Tathāgato—deep, of deep meaning, transcendental, connected with the Void[4] (or classified under Void); and when these are

(2) *Awake* is the same root as *Buddha* and *Buddhist*, while *dark* is the same word as the Sanskrit *Krishṇa*. One might almost suspect a punning allusion to the later admixture of Buddhism with the Krishnaeult; but our text is too ancient.

(3) This paragraph, except the words in square brackets, is found in the Classified Collection, XX. 7. The grammatical connection of the clause beginning, "there are Dialogues," etc., is as awkward in the Pali as it is in the English, and seems to indicate a separateness for this passage.

(4) See, e. g., Majihima 121 and 122, which were very popular dialogues. The Chinese, in the seventh century, considered them such thorough compendiums

recited they will not listen nor give ear nor present a heart of knowledge; and they will not study those doctrines, learn them, nor reflect thereon. But there are Dialogues poet-made, poetical, thrilling the heart, suggestive to the heart, the utterances of disciples who are outsiders. When these are recited they will listen, give ear, and present a heart of knowledge; these doctrines they will study, learn by heart and reflect upon.

And so, monks, [there will be] corruption of discipline from corruption of doctrine, and corruption of doctrine from corruption of discipline.

This, monks, is the fourth future danger which, though not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake, must struggle to avert it.

Again, monks, there will be monks in the far future without physical, moral emotional and intellectual control; and being so, the Presbyter monks will be luxurious, loose-lived, taking precedence by their descent, in seclusion neglecting their charge. They will not strive with their will for attainment of the unattained, approach to the unapproached, realisation of the unrealised. The last generation of them will fall into heresy, and will be luxurious, loose-lived, taking precedence by descent, in seclusion neglecting their charge. And so, monks, [there will be] 'corruption of discipline from corruption of doctrine, and corruption of doctrine from corruption of discipline.

This, monks, is the fifth future danger which, though not arisen now, will hereafter arise, and which ye must be awake to, and so struggle to avert.

These, monks, are the Five Future Dangers which, though not arisen now, will hereafter arise, and which ye must be awake to, and so struggle to avert.

[Chapter 80 gives a detailed account of the future luxuries, such as building monasteries in towns, villages, and capitals; wearing fine robes; associating with young nuns, etc.

The *Buddhist Apocalypse* translated by Warren is a mediæval treatise, expanded from just such texts as our present one.]

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of Buddhism that many cared for no other Scriptures. (I-tsing, p. 51. I take '"nothingness" = suññatā). (Majjhima 121 and 122 are Nos. 190 and 191. in Chinese. A.M.)

C.T. 當來變經 (N.C. No. 468, 長十 11G). (5)

Cf. 記法住經 (N.C. No. 123)., 法滅盡經 (N.C. No. 470)., 五恐怖世經 (N.C. No. 766).

[1] 世尊告諸比丘, 將來之世,當有比丘, 因有一法不從法化, 令法毀滅不得長益。……[一], 不護禁戒, 不能守心. 不修智慧, 放逸其意。 唯求善名。 不順道教, 不肯勤, 慕度世之業。

是爲一事, 令法毀滅。

[2] 復有二事, 令法毀滅。……[一]不護禁戒, 不攝其心,不修智慧, 畜妻養子, 放心恣意, 賈作治生以共相活。 [二] 作黨相着, 憎奉法者欲令陷墮。……

是爲二事令法毀滅。

[3] 復有三事令法毀滅。……[一]既不護禁戒, 不能攝心, 不修智慧。 [二] 自讀文字, 不識句讀……不能解了義之所, 歸自以爲是。 [三] 明者不從其教。……

是爲三事令法毀滅。

[4] 復有四事令法毀滅。……[一] 將來比丘……在閑處不修道業。 [二] 喜遊人間……行來談言, 好袈裟五色之服。 [三] 高望遠視……自以高德無能及者……。 [四]不護根門, 行婦女間……身行荒亂。……

是爲四事令法毀滅。

[5] 復有五事, 令法毀滅。……[一] 或有比丘,……廢深經教, 十二因緣, 三十七品, 方等深妙玄虛之慧, 智度無極, 善權方便, 空無相之願,……[二] 反習雜句淺末小經, 世俗行故……[三]新聞法人, 淺解之士意用妙快。 …[四] 天龍鬼神不爲以喜 ……諸天流淚速逝而去。 [五] 由是正法稍稍見捨, 無精修者。

是爲五事令法毀滅。

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(5) Here we have before us another version of the *Anāgata-bhayāni* coming down to us from the last part of the third Century A.D. It differs not in substance from the Pāli but much in its arrangement. Subdivisions under each of five dangers seem not to have been original. They are as follows:

[I.] persual after fame; [II.] (i.) seeking livelihood by commerce, (ii.) hatred against the pious; [III.] (i.) not diligent (as in the above two heads and corresponding to the beginning part of each danger in the Pāli), (ii.) ignorant in Scripture, (iii.) disobedience toward wise men; [IV.] (i.) corruption of the discipline, (ii.) love of social intercourse and vanity, (iii.) pride, (iv.) looseness of conduct; [V.] (i.) neglecting deep teaching, the twelve Nidānas, the thirty seven Sections, the wisdom of the Vaipulya mysticism, the incomparable Prajñāpāramitā, the promise (or faith) of Nothingness, (ii.) reciting miscellaneous stanzas and petty secular texts, (iii.) because novices like them, (iv.) and in consequence they are abandoned by angels, (v.) in this way the right teaching wanes off.

Thus we see IV. and V. correspond to the fifth and fourth danger of the Pāli and as a whole this text may be said to be another and later version of the Pāli *Anāgata-bhayāni*. (A.M.)

Minor Section on Discipline (*Cullavaggo*) X. 1.

(Translated in S. B. E. XX, p. 325).

Ānando, if women had not received permission to go forth from domestic life and enter the homeless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline made public by the Tathāgato, then, Ānando, would the religious life have lasted long: the Gospel (*Saddhammo*) would have lasted for *a thousand years*. But Ānando, now that women have received that permission, the religious life will not last long: the Gospel, Ānando, will now last only *five hundred years*.

C.T. 四分律四十八 (N.C. No. 1117, 列六 15 b).

(f. 中阿鞞曇彌經 (N.C. No. 116 of No. 542, 戾六 38 b).

——如是, 阿難, 若女人在佛法出家受大戒, 則令佛法不久。

[This passage is important as a time-mark in the history of the Canon, a fact which was pointed out in our provisional preface to this series of Parallels. (Open Court, February, 1900, p. 115). In patristic works written after the Christian era, such as Buddhaghosa's commentaries and the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, the figure 500 has been altered to 5000. This was because the five hundred years had expired, and still the faith flourished. Therefore the sacred text has not been materially altered, and goes back behind the time of Christ. The period of a thousand years in our text may perhaps be compared with those of the Mazdean Saviours or the millennium of the Apocalyptic Christ.

It is to be regretted that the period of decline has been confounded with the Second Coming or advent of Metteyyo (Sanskrit, Maitreyas;[6] contracted into Maitreya). Thus, Eitel, in his *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, places this advent five thousand years after Gotamo, which, as we have seen, is a later exaggeration of the five hundred predicted in the Book of Discipline. Rhys Davids, in his Manual, probably following Eitel, says the same; for that learned scholar has never had the leisure to rewrite his book and give full references in the light of his present knowledge. Pāli learning is still in its infancy. Even Kern, whose Manual is deemed the best by so exacting a critic

(6) The first Europeans to transcribe Sanskrit words were the Greeks, and they rightly transcribed them in the nominative case, thus bringing out the sameness of the ending in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.

as Barth, does not give the original Pāli authority on the Metteyyo prophecy, but a passage in the late patristic Milindo. This is because the Pāli text in question has not yet been edited in Roman letters, but must be painfully read in the character of Siam. The text, however, has briefly referred to by Oldenberg in 1881, in the first edition of his *Buddha*; but was never, I believe, given fully, at least in English, until its appearance in *The Open Court* in 1900. (Cf. Oldenberg, 4. ed. 1903, p. 187).

Dr. Carus, in his *Gospel of Buddha*, p. 217, has made the mistake pointed out, of associating the coming of Metteyyo with the end of the period of purity.

Owing to the curious coincidence that five hundred years is the period between Gotamo and Jesus, some writers who have accepted the confusion of Metteyyo with this period, have regarded him as a Buddhist prophecy of Christ. Were it so, it would be a more remarkable one than any oracle of Daniel or Isaiah; for nowhere do the prophets clearly state that, at the end of a definite, non-mystical, mundane term of years, a Saviour will arise named Love, for such is the meaning of Metteyyo. We have purposely kept separate, in our Pāli Parallels, these two doctrines of the Second Coming and the Decline of the Faith.

In June, 1900 (*Open Court*, Vol. XIV., pp. 362, 363), we translated the leading Pāli oracle upon the coming of Metteyyo, under the caption of *Second Coming*. I may be allowed to say that the Christian idea of the Holy Ghost was not adduced by me among the New Testament passages for this Parallel, but was added in the editor's office. However, as we know that the doctrine of the comforter was the Johannine and spiritual form of the grosser Pauline Second Coming, I have no objection to its standing, though of course the cogent parallel is the Pauline and Apocalyptic one, i.e. of a physical reappearance of Christ.]

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67. Discourse on the End of the World; or, the Sermon on the Seven Suns.

Mark XIII. 31. (馬太傳十三の卅一).

Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

2 Peter III. 10. (彼得後書三の十).

But the day of the Lord will come as the thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the heavenly bodies (or, elements) shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up (or, discovered).

Revelation XXI. 1. (默示錄廿一の一).

And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth are passed away; and the sea is no more.

Numerical Collection VII. 62.

Thus have I heard. At one season the Lord was staying at Vesāli, in Ambapāli's grove. And the Lord addressed the monks, saying: "Monks!" "Lord" answered those monks, in reply to him. The Lord spake thus:

"Impermanent, O monks, are the constituents of existence, unstable, non-eternal: so much so, that this alone is enough to weary and disgust one with all constituent things, and emancipate therefrom. Sineru, monks, the monarch of mountains, is eighty-four thousand leagues[1] in length and breadth; eighty-four thousand leagues deep in the great ocean, and eighty-four thousand above it.

Now there comes, O monks, a season when, after many years, many hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands of years, it does not rain; and while it rains not, all seedlings and vegetation, all plants, grasses, and trees dry up, wither away and cease to be. Thus, monks, constituent things are impermanent, unstable, non-eternal: so much so, that this alone is enough to weary and disgust one therewith and emancipate therefrom.

C.T. 增阿三十四, 七日品 (N.C. No. 543, 戊二 66-67).

聞如是, 一時佛在〔舍衛國… ……〕。 世尊告曰

"——須彌山者極爲廣大, 非衆山所及。〔若比丘欲知〕須彌山——出水上高八萬四千由旬, 入水亦深八萬四千由旬……[1]

或有是時, 〔若此世間欲壞敗時〕, 然天不降雨, 所種生苗不復

(1) I. e. yojanas, a yojana being about eight miles.

長大，……一切諸行皆歸無常不得久住。……無常百變正謂此耳。

And, monks, there comes a season, at vast intervals in the lapse of time, when a second sun appears. After the appearance of the second sun, monks, the brooks and ponds dry up, vanish away and cease to be. So impermanent are constituent things! And then, monks, there comes a season, at vast intervals in the lapse of time, when a third sun appears; and thereupon the great rivers: to wit, the Ganges, the Jamna, the Rāptī, the Gogra, the Mahī,—dry up, vanish away and cease to be.

At length, after another great period, a fourth sun appears, and thereupon the great lakes, whence those rivers had their rise: namely, Anotatto,(2) Lion-leap, Chariot-maker, Keel-bare, Cuckoo, Six-bayed, and Slow-flow, dry up, vanish away and cease to be.

若此世間有二日出時……無常變易不得久停，是時諸泉源小水皆悉枯竭。……若此世間三日出現時，〔四大海……〕(四大駛河，所謂恒伽，私頭，死陀，婆叉)水自然枯竭。

若四日出現世時，〔四大海水——深千由旬漸々至百由旬〕

Again, monks, when, after another long lapse, a fifth sun appears, the waters in the great ocean go down for an hundred leagues; then for two hundred, three hundred, and even unto seven hundred leagues, until the water stands only seven fan-palms deep, and so on unto one fan-palm; then seven fathoms deep, and so on unto one fathom, half a fathom; waist-deep, knee-deep, ankle-deep. Even, O monks, as in the fall season, when it rains in large drops, the water in some places is standing around the feet of the kine; even so, monks, the waters in the great ocean in some places are standing to the depth of kine-feet. After the appearance of the fifth sun, monks, the water in the great ocean is not the measure of a finger-joint. Then at last, after another lapse of time, a sixth sun appears; whereupon this great earth and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, reek and fume and send forth clouds of smoke. Even as a potter's baking, when first besmeared, doth reek and fume and smoke,

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(2) I am not sure of the meaning of this word and its Sanskrit equivalent *Anavatapta*, but it appears to mean "without warmth at the bottom."

such is the smoke of earth and mountains when the sixth sun appears.

若世間有五日出時，是時四大海水餘有七百由旬，漸々至百由旬 .....一由旬.....七尺水.....——海水盡竭無有遺餘。 或是此時六日出時,此地〔厚六萬八千由旬〕皆悉烟出,須彌山亦漸々融壞。.....猶如陶家燒瓦器 .....三千大千刹土.....洞然火出。.....

After a last interval, a seventh sun appears, and then, monks, this great earth and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, flare and blaze and become one mass of flame. And now, from earth and mountains burning and consuming, a spark is carried by the wind and goes as far as the worlds of God: and the peaks of Mount Sineru, burning, consuming, perishing, go down in one vast mass of fire and crumble for an hundred, yea five hundred leagues. And of this great earth, monks, and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, when consumed and burnt, neither ashes nor soot remains. Just as when ghee or oil is consumed and burnt, neither ashes nor soot resmains, so is it with the great earth and Mount Sineru.

Thus, monks, impermanent are the constituents of existence, unstable, non-eternal: so much so, that this alone is enough to weary and disgust one with constituent things and emancipate therefrom. Therefore, monks, do those who deliberate and believe,(3) say this: 'This earth and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, will be burnt and perish and exist no more,' excepting those who have seen the path.

若復七日出時，此須彌山漸々融壞。〔百千由旬自然崩落永無有餘，亦復不見塵烟之分，况見灰乎〕是時〔三十三天乃至他化自在〕天宮殿悉火燃.....,六天乃至三千大千刹土悉爲灰土，亦無形質之兆。

如是比丘,一切行無常不可久保，皆歸於盡。〔爾時人民命終盡，生他方刹土，若生天上.....〕

[A late expansion of this discourse is given by Warren, in his *Buddhism in Translations*, from Buddhaghoso's *Way of Purity*, a Pāli compendium of the fifth Christian century.(4) When

(3) Translation uncertain. The word *saddhātā* is not in Childers, and I can find no equivalent in Sanskrit; but the various reading, *saddhāratā*, indicates the sense.

(4) On p. 323 of Warren's book our present Sutta is quoted by name.

Warren wrote, the Pāli original had not as yet appeared in the edition of the Pāli Text Society, which is printed in Roman letters.

It is well known to New Testament scholars that the great eschatological Discourse in the Synoptical Gospels (i.e., the Sermon on the Last Things, delivered upon the Mount of Olives) is a blending of historical and spiritual vaticination. As I pointed out in 1893,[5] the Evangelist Luke attempted to separate the spiritual prophecy from the historical prediction, putting the former into his seventeenth chapter, and the latter into his twenty-first. But Luke evidently understood even the physical cataclysm to refer to the siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Hebrew State. Even Mark and the editor of Matthew probably understood the same thing, though our English translations of Matthew make his "consummation of the æon" the "end of the world." After the siege, the early Christians evidently made this Eschatological Discourse refer to a cosmical convulsion; and so in the Second Epistle of Peter, the thief-like advent of the spiritual nature into man is transformed into the terrors of a ruined world. But the only words in the Gospel sermon which can justly apply to such a thing are those in all three of the Synoptists: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."[6] We have therefore used this verse among our parallels to Buddha's present discourse, but have given the text of the Gospel prophecy with our foregoing translation.]

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68. Former Religions Eclipsed by the Religion of Love.

Matthew V. 17, 18; 43, 44. (馬太傳五の十七, 八及四十三, 四).

Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all things be accomplished ... .

(5) *Haverford College Studies* for 1893: *Our Lord's Quotation from the First Book of Maccabees.*

(6) The second clause indicates the application of this verse: the passing of heaven and earth does not belong to the subject of the discourse, but is used as a standard whereby to guage the perpetuity of the oracles of Christ.

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Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you.

Numerical Collection VII. 62.[1]

"In olden times, O monks, there was a religious teacher (or, Master) named Sunetto, founder of an Order, and free from indulgence in lusts; and he had several hundred disciples. The Master Sunetto preached to his disciples the doctrine of fellowship with the world of God; and those who understood all his religion in every way, when he preached this doctrine, were born again, upon the dissolution of the body after death, to weal in the world of God. Those who did not understand all his religion in every way were born again, upon the dissolution of the body after death,—some into fellowship with those angels who transmute subjective delights into objective and share them with others;[2] some into fellowship with the angels who delight in subjective creations; some into that of the angels of Content (*Tusitā*); others with the Yāmā; others again with the angels of the Thirty-three; others into fellowship with those of the Four Great Kings; and yet others into fellowship with Warrior magnates, Brahmin magnates, householder magnates.

"Now, Sunetto the Master, O monks, thought himself: 'It is not fit that I should allow my disciples to have such destinies as these repeatedly: what now if I practise the Highest Love?' Whereupon, monks, the Master Sunetto practised Benevolence (or love-meditation) for seven years, and for seven æons of consummation and restoration he did not return to this world.[3] Yea, monks, at the consummation of the world[4] he became an Angel of Splendor, and at the world's restoration he rose again in the empty palace of the Brahmās. Yea, then, O monks, he was a Brahmā, the Great Brahmā (or, God), conquering, uncon-

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(1) There is no break in the Pāli, but the present division is made for the sake of another Gospel parallel, which belongs really to Part 3. (Ethics); but I wish to preserve the integrity of the celebrated sermon. Moreover, it contains eschatology, even in this portion, and may therefore claim a place in Part 5.

(2) I have been guided here by Warren, p. 289, and Lafcadio Hearn, Gleanings in Buddha-fields, p. 245.

(3) See Itivuttaka 22, translated above, pp. 142-143, where Gotamo relates the same of himself.

(4) Itivuttaka has *æon*.

quered, all-seeing, controlling. And thirty-six times, O monks, was he Sakko, the lord of the angels; many hundreds of times was he a king, a righteous world-ruler and emperor, victorious to the four seas, arrived at the security of his country, and possessed of the seven treasures. Moreover, he had more than a thousand sons, heroes, of mighty frame, crushers of alien armies; he dwelt in this ocean-girt earth, overcoming it, staffless and swordless, by righteousness. But even the Master Sumetto, though thus long-lived and long-enduring, was not emancipated from birth, old age, death, grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair; I say he was not emancipated from pain. And why? Because of not being awake to four things (*dhammā*) and not seeing into them. What four? The Noble Ethics, the Noble Trance (*Samādhi*), the Noble Intellection, and the Noble Release (or, Emancipation). When these, O monks, are known in their sequence and penetrated into,[5] the craving for existence is annihilated, its renewal is destroyed: one is then reborn no more.

Thus spake the Lord, and when the Auspicious One had said this, the Master further said:

> "Morality, Trance, Pure Reason, and Supreme Release;
> These things are understood by the celebrated Gotamo.
> Thus enlightened (*buddho*) by supernal knowledge, he
> told the doctrine to the monks.
> The Master, who made an end of pain, the Seeing One,
> hath passed into Nirvāna."[6]

* * * * * * *

69. The Great Restoration.

Matthew XIX. 28. (馬太傳十九の廿八).

Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in *the regeneration* when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Isreal.

(5) "Known in their sequence" and "penetrated into" represent the same words before translated: "being awake to", and "seeing into." So again, "Pure Reason" (*Paññā*), in the verse below, appears above as "Intellection."

(6) Instead of this portion of the discourse the Chinese Ekottara has narrations about the primitive human society and the origin of castes. (A.M.)

Luke XIX. 27, 28. (路加傳十九の廿七, 八).

And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory. But when these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads; because your redemption draweth nigh.

Acts III. 19-21. (使徒行傳三の十九—廿一).

Repent ye therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord; and that he may send the Christ who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus: whom the heaven must receive until *the times of restoration of all things*, whereof God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets which have been since the world began.

Long Collection, Dialogue No. 1.

(Translated by Gogerly in 1846, *apud* Grimblot, 1876; and by Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1899, p. 30).

Now there comes a season, O monks, when, sooner or later, after a vast interval in the lapse of time, this universe (*loko*) is consummated (*literally*, rolls together). Now when the universe is consummated, beings generally have their destiny consummated among the Angels of Splendour (*literally*, are Splendour-consummation-ones). There they are mind-made, joy-feeders, self-resplendent, walking the sky, abiding in glory, and abide so for a period long and vast.

Now there comes also a season, O monks, when, sooner or later, after a vast interval in the lapse of time, this universe is restored. And when the universe is restored there appears the empty Palace of Brahmā.

C.T. 長阿　梵動經 (N.C. No. 21 of No. 545, 戉九 73 b).

或有是時, 此刼始成, 有餘衆生命行福盡, 命盡, 行盡, 從光音天命終, 生空梵天中。

[As in the New Testament, the words *world* and *æon* are used interchangeably in speaking of this destruction and renewal. The doctrine in question, like that of Satan, entered Palestine from Persia.

I translate the following from August Wünsche's *Neue*

Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch: Göttingen, 1878, p. 233, where he is commenting upon Matthew XIX. 28:

"The idea of the renewal of the world is a branch of Millenarianism which arose on Persian soil, and after the Exile was transplanted also in the Jewish, and became indigenous.

Sanhedrin, fol. 97. b. "Rabbi Chanan ben Tachlipha informed Rabbi Joseph: I have found a man who held in his hand a roll written in Assyrian characters, but in the holy language. When I asked him whence he got it, he gave me this reply: I got it when I was serving in the Persian army, having found it among the Persian treasures. In this writing I found the following: After 4291 years from the creation of the world it will pass away, and in this time there will be wars between the monsters Gog and Magog. The remaining period belongs to the time of the redemption. But the Eternal will renew the world first after 7000 years, or, as Rabbi Acha bar Rabba thinks, after 5000 years."

The old *Kaddish* prayer reads in the context which lies before us in Maimonides, *Tr. Tephila:*

"Praised and hallowed be the great Name of Him who will one day renew the world, quicken the dead, redeem the living, build up the city of Jerusalem, restore the holy Temple, exterminate idolatry, and bring in the pure worship of God in its glory."

Note by A. J. E.—This last passage is very similar to the well-known refrain in the Mazdean Zamyād Yaçt.]

* * * * * * *

70. The Second Coming.

Mark XIV. 61, 62. (馬可傳十四の六十一, 二)

Again the high priest asked him, and saith unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed? And Jesus said, I am: and ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.

John XIV. 26. (約翰傳十四の廿六)

But the Comforter, even the Holy Spirit, whom the Father

will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you.

Revelation XX. 6. (默示錄廿の六).

Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: over these the second death hath no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

Long Collection, Dialogue No. 26.

(Translated from the Siamese edition, because not yet printd in Roman letters).

Monks, in the days when men live eighty thousand years, there will arise in the world a Buddha named Metteyyo (the Benevolent One) a Holy One,[1] a supremely Enlightened One, endowed with wisdom in conduct; auspicious, knowing the universe; an incomparable Charioteer of men who are tamed; a Master of angels and mortals, a Blessed Buddha; even as I have now arisen in the world, a Buddha with these same qualities endowed. What he has realized by his own supernal knowledge he will publish to this universe, with its angels, its fiends, and its archangels, and to the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples; even as I now, having all this knowledge, do publish the same unto the same. He will preach his religion, glorious in its origin, glorious at the climax, glorious at the goal, in the spirit and the letter. He will proclaim a religious life, wholly prefect and thoroughly pure; even as I now preach my religion and a like life do proclaim. He will keep up a society of monks numbering many thousand, even as I now keep up a society of monks numbering many hundred.

C.T. 長阿轉輪聖王修行經 (N.C. No. 6 of No. 545. 戻九 35 a).[2]

壽命八萬歲時……有佛出世, 名爲彌勒, 如來至眞等正覺, 十號具足如今如來。……彼於諸天釋梵魔若魔天諸沙門婆羅門諸天世中自身作證,亦如我今……彼當說法,初言亦善中下亦善,義味具

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(1) Sanskrit, *Maitreya*. *Arahat*, and so always; Sanskrit, *Arhat*. This is the stem-form in each case. The Pāli nominative is *Arahā*.

(2) 中阿轉輪聖王經 (N.C. No. 70. of No. 542, 戻五 85-88) narrates only of the Cakravartin and omits the prophecy about Maitreya. There are eight passages about Maitreya in the Chinese Ekottara and two of them fixes the term of his appearance to thirty Kalpas hereafter. (Cf. 現身佛と法身佛 pp. 204-205). The usual term of the time between Gotamo and Maitreya accepted among Japanese Buddhists is 5,670,000,000 years. (A. M.).

足淨修梵行,如我今日說法 ……。彼衆弟子有無數千萬,如我今日弟子數百。

* * * * * * *

71. Buddha's Last Meal and the Christian Eucharist.

Their Preservation of Primeval Rites.

[While we would draw no parallel between Buddha's Last Meal and the Christian Eucharist such as we should draw between the Angelic Heralds of Luke and those of the Sutta-Nipāto, yet these meals have something in common. It is this: they both preserve primeval sacred ideas about eating and drinking. Henry Clay Trumbull's monograph, *The Blood Covenant*, has set forth the ancient practice underlying the Christian sacrament; viz., the exchange of blood to cement friendship,—the blood, by a later refinement of the race, being represented by wine. The text of Mark, which is the oldest, has for the memorial words:]

Mark. XIV. 22-25. (馬可傳十四の廿二—廿五).

And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body. And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my *blood of the covenant*, (1) which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.

[But Paul was not content with this simple form, and a vision from the risen Christ informed him that the memorial words commanded a perpetuity for the rite:]

1. Cor. XI. 23-27. (哥林多前書十一の廿三—廿七).

I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body which is for you: this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink

(1) The words in italics are from Exodus XXIV. 8.

it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord.

[This new formula, with its mysterious threat, affiliated the Sacred Meal to those of Eleusis and of Mithra, much to the scandal of Justin Martyr, who saw in the latter a diabolic travesty. Thus did Christianity perpetuate a primeval rite, inherited by several of the book-religions from the prehistoric past. But Gospel authority was wanting until Paul's new words were inserted into the text of Luke:]

Luke XXII. 14-23. (路加傳廿二の十 —廿三).

And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him. And he said unto them, with desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves: for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the the kingdom of God shall come. And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body [*which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you.*] But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. For the Son of man indeed goeth as it has been determined: but woe unto that man through whom he is betrayed! And they began to question among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.

[The Revised Version of 1881 (which I always use) notes in the margin that the words italicised and in brackets are not in certain manuscripts. The best critics consider them an addition made from Paul. Luke was reckoned by the early Christians as Paul's Gospel. Tertullian gives us their literary standard when he says that the works of disciples are counted those of their masters.

Just as the Christian Eucharist preserves the covenant blood of Exodus, derived from a remoter past, so does the

Buddhist final meal preserve an equally ancient practice. In the Book of the Great Decease we read:]

Book of Great Decease, Chap. IV.

Now the Lord addressed Cundo the smith and said: 'Whatever dried boar's flesh remains to thee, Cundo, that bury in a hole. I see no one, Cundo, upon earth nor in the heavens of Māro or Brahmā, no one among philosophers and Brahmins, princes and peoples, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be assimilated, save by the Thathāgato.'

'Even so, Master!' said Cundo the smith in assent unto the Lord. And whatever dried boar's flesh remained over, that he buried in a hole.'

[Now, James G. Frazer, in his remarkable book, *The Golden Bough*, tells us this (second edition. London, 1900, Vol. 1., p. 318):

"No one may touch the food which the King of Loango leaves upon his plate: it is buried in a hole in the ground."

This is done to prevent the scraps being used by a sorcerer, but it is also part and parcel of the whole system of royal and priestly taboos, such as seen in the former seclusion of the Mikado. It is well known to students of historical religion that the offices of priest and king were once identical, as in the case of Melchizedek. The primitive royal hierarch was a deity on earth, and the spiritual ancestor of:

"That divinity which doth hedge a king."

The supreme example of the divine or priestly king is the God-Man; and the race-consciousness of both great historic Masters led them to identify themselves with this mythic Divine-Human. Greater than any parallels in their conduct from an alleged connection between their stories is the older and more venerable one which has its roots in the hero-legends of primeval man.]

[Curiously enough this utterance of Buddha (Rhys Davids IV. 19., *Buddhist Suttas* p. 72) is found in no Chinese version of the similar text. N.C. No. 545 (長阿遊行經, 卷九 15 b), No. 552 (佛般泥洹經上, 卷十 15 b) and No. 119 (般泥洹經上, 卷十 41 a) insert just here another episode in longer or shorter form. It tells that a Bhikṣu came later than the others and took the plate

in which the portion of the *sūkaramaddavam*[2] was remaining. After the dinner was finished and plates were washed clean by water Cundo the smith asked Buddha how many kinds of Çrāmaṇas there were in the world. Buddha in reply distinguishes four kinds: 1. Those who are excellent in conduct, 2. Those who explain the Law well, 3. Those who live by Law, and 4. Those hypocrites who appear to be lawful but are really polluted by vices. This last is evidently allusion to that monk who stole portion of the fine food. The answer of Buddha is in verse only in No. 545.

No. 118 (大般涅槃經中, 戻十 26 b-27 a) omits this episode and also IV. 19. of the Pāli and instead of them makes Buddha speak in praise of Cundo's donation and also the promise that he shall take no other's food after that. (A.M.)]

* * * * * * *

72. Earthquake at the Master's Death.

Matthew XXVII. 51-53. (馬太傳廿七の五十一—五十三).

Behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake; and the rocks were rent; and the tombs were opened; and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised; and coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many.

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 116).

When the Lord entered into Nirvāna, a great earthquake, terrific and tremendous, accompanied his entry into Nirvāna; and the drums of the angels rolled. [This is the regular Hindū expression for thunder.]

[The speeches of the angels Brahmā and Sakko which follow take the place of Matthew's apparitions.]

(2) No. 545: 栴檀樹耳, the shoot of Candana tree. The other two do not mention the name of the food.

C.T. 長阿遊行經 (1) (N.C. No. 2. of No. 545, , 戾九 22 a).
佛般涅槃, 當於爾時地大震動, 諸天世人皆大驚怖。

大般涅槃經下 (N.C. No. 118, 戾十 33 a).
爾時大地震動, 天鼓自鳴〔四大海水翻倒 .....〕

般泥洹經下 〔N.C. No. 119. 戾十 45 b).
當此之時地大震動, 諸天龍神側塞空中〔散華而雨... ..〕

* * * * * * *

73. The Master Ascends beyond Human Ken, But is Present with the Disciples.

Matthew XXVIII. 20. (馬太傳廿八の廿).

Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the consummation of the age.

John XIV. 19. (約翰傳十四の十九).

Yet a little while, and the world beholdeth me no more; but ye behold me: because I live, ye shall live also.

John. XVI. 16. (約翰傳十六の十六).

A little while, and ye behold me no more; and again a little while, and ye shall see me.

Long Collection, Dialogue No. 1.

(Translated by Gogerly in 1846 (reprinted at Paris in 1876) and by Rhys Davids in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1899 p. 54).

Monks, the cord of existence is cut off, but the Tathāgato's body remains. So long as his body shall remain, then angels and mortals will see him. Upon the dissolution of the body beyond the bounds of life neither angels nor mortals will see him.

C.T. 長阿梵動經 (N.C. No. 21. of No. 545, 戾九 76 a).
如來自知生死已盡, 所以有身者欲福度諸天人故。若其無身則諸天世人無所恃怙。

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 112).

It may be, Ānando, that you will think to yourselves: "The utterance of the Master is passed away; our Master is no

(1) Cf. 增阿三十七 (N.C. No. 543, 戾三 6). *Numerical Collection* VIII. 52. (A.M.)

more." But, Ānando, you must not think so: the Doctrine and Discipline, Ānando, taught you and laid down by me, must be your Master when I am gone.

(Compare John XII. 48: The word that I spake, the same shall judge him in the last day.)

C.T. 長阿遊行經 (N.C. No. 545, 戾九 21 b).

阿難汝謂"佛滅度後無復覆護失所恃"耶。勿造斯觀，我〔成佛來〕所說經戒即其汝護，是汝所恃。

[This is a contrast rather than a parallel. As a Christian, one feels it profane to parallel the Apocalypse with this; but as a philosopher, one is dealing with essential ideas, and must be faithful thereto. The Paraclete or Presence of the ascended Christ was more than Doctrine and Discipline: it was a glorified human personality, encompassing the objects of its love. But Buddha puts the intellect above the affections, and tells his mourning followers to be self-contained, self-islanded, self-illumined.(2) At the same time the disciples realized his presence after death, as is evidenced from two Dialogues in the Middling Collection (Nos. 84 and 94,) where new converts ask to take refuge in the missionary who has converted them. In each case the missionary forbids it, and says they must take refuge in the Buddha. Where is he? they ask. *He has passed into Nirvāna*, is the answer. But, say they, just as we should go a hundred leagues to see him if alive, even so can we take refuge in him now that he is gone.(3)]

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74. Ascension.

Acts I. 9. (使徒行傳一の九).

And when he had said these things, as they were looking, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of thier sight.

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(2) Cf. my 現身佛と法身佛 pp. 168-169., 182-192. (A. M.).

(3) The Chinese Madhyama has no texts corresponding to Nos. 84 and 94 of the Majjhima. Two texts in the Ekottara preserve the passage for which see 現身佛と法身佛 pp. 166-167. It is to be noticed that this idea of the substitution of Buddha's teaching for his personality has lead to the idea of the Dharmātmā or Dharmakāya of Buddha. (A.M.)

Enunciations VIII. 6.

Thus have I heard. At one season the Lord was staying in the Bambū Grove beside the Squirrels' feeding-ground, at Rājagaha. And the venerable Dabbo the Mallian approached the Lord, saluted him and sat on one side, and so sitting, said to him: "O Auspicious One, my time is at hand to enter Nirvāna.[1] "Whatever you think fit, O Dabbo."— The the venerable Dabbo the Mallian rose from his seat, saluted the Lord, and keeping him on his right hand, went up into the sky, and sat in the posture of meditation in the ether, in the empyrean. Intensely meditating on the nature of flame,[2] he ascended and passed into Nirvāna.

And when the venerable Dabbo the Mallian had thus gone up, meditated and ascended, there remained neither ashes nor soot of his body when passed away,[3] consumed and burnt. Even as, when ghee or oil is consumed and burnt, neither ashes nor soot remains, so was it with the body of the venerable Dabbo the Mallian. And forthwith the Lord, having understood the fact, gave vent on that occasion to the following Enunciation:

> "The body dissolved, perception ceased, all sensations were utterly consumed;
>
> "The constituents of existence were stilled, consciousness and sense departed."

[This story is more analogous to the fiery ascension of Elijah in the Second Book of Kings than that of Christ, as related in Acts. There is no account of the ascension in the Synoptical Gospels, except a single line in Luke XXIV. 51,[4] while the Mark-Appendix is a later addition. John refers to the Ascension as a spiritual fact; so does Paul; but the only pictorial account is that of Acts. In the Pāli legend, the hero is Dabbo the Mallian, a disciple of Buddha's who had extraordinary psychical powers. The Book of Discipline tells us that he was

(1) See my defensive note on this rendering in my translation of Dīgha 14. (*The Marvellous Birth of the Buddhas*: Philadelphia, 1899, p. 4).

(2) Literally, *having entered the element of flame* (or, splendor). There is a curious coincidence here with Luke XXIV. 26: εἰσελθειν εἰς την δοξαν—*tejodhātuṃ samāpajjitvā*.

(3) Or, *passed into Nirvāna*, as above. It is a special word, only used for the death of an Arahat.

(4) The doubt thrown upon this line in the margin of the Revised Version of 1881 was dispelled when the Sinai Syriac was found. See also Luke IX. 51.

able to light the monks to bed by emitting magnetic flames from his fingers (S. B. E., Vol. XX., p. 7). The doctrine of the Ascension, however, is closely allied to that of the Resurrection. The central idea of the Ascension is not that of a bodily ascent into heaven, but a sublimation of the physical into the spiritual, answering to Hamlet's prayer: "Oh, that this too, too solid flesh would melt!" It may also be regarded as a substitution of a psychical body for a physical one. The latter was Paul's doctrine, but Jewish or Roman materialism changed it into a fleshly resurrection and Ascension.]

* * * * * * *

75. The Gospel is Preached in the Spiritual World.

Matthew XXVIII. 18. (馬太馬廿八の十八).

And Jesus came to them and spake unto them, saying: All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth.

1 Peter III. 19, 20. (彼得前書三の十九, 廿).

In the spirit.. ...he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient, when the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved through water.

1 Peter IV. 6. (彼得前書四の六).

For unto this end was the gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.

Numerical Collection IV. 33.

When a Tathāgato arises in the world, an Arahat, a Buddha supreme, endowed with wisdom in conduct, auspicious, knowing the universe, a matchless charioteer of men who are tamed, a Master of angels and mortals, a blessed Buddha; he preaches his religion: to wit, Personality (*Sakkāyo*), the origin of perosnality, the cessation thereof, and the path that unto that cessation goes. And, monks, those, angels of long life, self-radiant happy beings, abiding in the lofty mansions long, when they hear the preaching of the Tathāgato's religion, are everywhere seized with fear, astonishment and trembling, saying: "Impermanent are we, alas! O friend, 'tis said; and we thought we were permanent;

unstable, and we deemed we were stable; non-eternal, who thought ourselves eternal. 'Tis said, O friend, that we are impermanent, unstable, non-eternal, hedged about with personality!"

Such, O monks, is the spiritual power of the Tathāgato over the angel-world: such his great authority and mystic might.

[In the **Middling Collection, Dialogue 49.** (中阿梵王請佛經, 訣五. 106 f) Gotamo transports himself to the heaven of Brahmā to convert an angel there from the heresy that his blest abode was everlasting. There is also a story found in the Sanskrit Divyāvadāna, another uncanonical sources,[1] of Buddha going to the other world to preach the Gospel to his mother. It is alluded to in the Pāli of Jātaka 29, and told in full in No. 483, but only in the commentary, not in the text. I will thank any scholar to find or locate it in the Canon.]

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76. Angels Worship the Lord and are Saved by Him.

Hebrews I. 6. (希伯來書一の六).

When he again bringeth in the firstborn into the world he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.

Revelation V. 8-14. (默示錄五の八—十四).

When he had taken the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having each one a harp, and golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints. And they sing a new song, saying, Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with thy blood *men* of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest them to be unto our God a kingdom and priests; and they reign upon the earth. And I saw, and I heard a voice of many angels round about the throne and the living creatures and the elders; and the

(1) I do not call the Divyāvadāna uncanonical merely because it is not in the Pāli Canon, but because it is post-Asokan. However, it doubtless contains a nucleus which we may call semi-canonical, for the Avadānas were classed by several sects in the Miscellaneous Piṭaka, outside the great Collections or Āgamas.

number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying with a great voice, Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain to receive the power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and honor, and glory and blessing. And every created thing which is in the heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea, and all things that are in them, heard I saying, Unto him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb, be the blessing, and the honor, and the glory and the dominion, for ever and ever. And the four living creatures said, Amen. And the elders fell down and worshipped.

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1 Peter I. 12. (彼得前書一の十二).

Not unto themselves, but unto you, did they minister these things, which now have been announced unto you through them that preached the Gospel unto you by the Holy Ghost sent forth from heaven; which things angels desire to look into.

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1 Peter III. 22. (彼得前三の廿二).

Who is on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him.

Matthew XXVII. 52, 53. (馬太傳廿二の五十二, 三).

The tombs were opened; and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised; and coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and appeared into many.

[For **Ephesians III. 8-11,** see new translation, below (p. 199).]

Long Collection, Dialogue No. 4.

(Translated by Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1899, p. 149).

Indeed, sirs, many thousands of heavenly beings have gone to the philosopher Gotamo for a refuge .....Many angels and mortals are believers in the philosopher Gotamo; and in whatsoever village or town he abides, there demons do mortals no harm.

C.T. 長阿含德經 (N.C. No. 22 of No. 545, 廿九 77).

又沙門瞿曇……爲諸天餘鬼神衆之所恭敬。……所至之處非人鬼神不敢解嬈。

Ibid, Dialogue 20.

(Translated by Geigerly, *apud* Grimblot: *Sept Suttas Pâlis*: 1876, p. 289).

Thus have I heard. At one season the Lord was staying among the Sākyas at Kapilavatthu, in the Great Wood, together with a great society of monks, some five hundred in number, all of them Arahats; and the angels from the ten-thousand world-systems were assembled all together for the purpose of seeing the Lord and his society of monks.

C.T. 長阿大會經 (N.C. No. 19. of. No. 545. 戾九 65 a).

如是我聞。一時佛在釋翅搜國迦維林中，與大比丘衆五百人俱，盡是羅漢，復有十方諸神妙天皆來集會，禮敬如來及比丘僧。

[As in Job, the Evil One came with them; and as in the Second Book of Kings, the prophet opened the eyes of his followers to see the invisible host.]

Long Collection, Dialogues 18 and 19.

(Translated from the Siam edition).

Those angels, Lord, who have lived the religious life with the Lord, when newly born in the [angelic] body[1] of the Thirty-three, outshine the other angels in brilliance and glory. Therefore, Lord, the angels of the Thirty-three are enraptured, rejoiced and become delighted and glad, saying: "The angelic bodies are being perfected; the demon-bodies are passing away." [Or: "The angelic ranks are being filled, and the ranks of the devils (*asuras*) are being thinned."] And then, Lord, Sakko, the ruler of the angels, seeing the satisfaction of the angels of the Thirty-three, rejoices in these stanzas:

Ah, friend! the angels rejoice,
Even the Thirty-three and their ruler,
Worshipping the Tathāgato
And the goodness of his Doctrine,
When they see the new angels
Brilliant and glorious
Who the religious life with the
Auspicious One
Have lived, and hither come.
They outshine the others

(1) Or, *host* and so throughout.

In brilliance and glory—
The disciples of the Greatly Wise One,
Who here arrive at distinction.
Seeing this, the angels of the Thirty-three
Are glad with their ruler,
Worshipping the Tathāgato
And the goodness of his Doctrine.

C.T. 長阿闍尼沙經 (N.C. No. 4. of No. 545, 戊九 29 b).
及典尊經 (N.C. No. 3. of No. 545, 戊九 25 b).

復有餘諸大神天，皆先於佛所淨修梵行，於此命終生忉利天增益諸天。…… 時諸忉利天皆踊躍歡喜言，"增益諸天衆，減損阿須倫衆"。 爾時釋提桓因知忉利諸天有歡喜心，即作頌曰，

忉利諸天人　帝釋相娛樂　禮敬於如來　最上法之王
諸天受影福　壽色名樂威　於佛修梵行　故來生此間
復有諸天人　光色甚巍々　佛智慧弟子　生此復殊勝
忉利及因提　思惟此自樂　禮敬於如來　最上法之王

Numerical Collection VI. 34.

At one season the Lord was staying at Sāvatthi, in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And in the mind of the venerable Moggallāno the Great, who was in privacy and retirement, there arose the following reflection: What kind of angels have the knowledge that they have entered on the Path, are not liable to suffering hereafter, but are steadfast, and assured of final Enlightenment? Now at that season there was a monk named Tisso who had just died, and had risen again in a certain sphere of the Brahmā-world. And even there they recognised him thus: "Tisso the Brahmā is great in psychical and magical power." Then the venerable Moggallāno the Great, as quickly as a strong man can stretch forth his bent arm or his outstretched arm bend back, vanished from the Conqueror's Grove and appeared in the world of the Brahmās. And Tisso the Brahmā saw him coming from afar, and said to him: "Come, O honorable Moggallāno; welcome, O honorable Moggallāno! For a long time you have made this journey of coming hither. Be seated, O honorable Moggallāno: this seat is made ready." So the venerable Moggallāno sat on the seat made ready, and Tisso the Brahmā saluted him respectfully and sat on one side. Then the venerable Moggallāno spake thus unto Tisso the Brahmā as he sat: "Tisso, what kind of angels have the

knowledge that they have entered on the Path, are not liable to suffering hereafter, but steadfast and assured of final Enlightenment?"

"O honorable Moggallāno, the angels of the Four Great Kings have this assurance."

"All of them, Tisso?"

"Not all of them, O honorable Moggallāno. Those of them who are not endowed with faith in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order, and are not endowed with noble and pleasing conduct, have not this knowledge and assurance. But those who are endowed with faith in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order, and are endowed with noble and pleasing conduct, have this knowledge and assurance."

S.P. 雜阿十九 (N.C. No. 544. 辰三 8 a).[1]

如是我聞，一時佛住王舍城迦蘭陀竹園。

時有四十天子，來詣尊者大目揵連所，稽首作禮，退坐一面。時尊者大目揵連語諸天子言，"善哉諸天子，於佛不壞淨成就，法僧不壞淨成就"。時四十天子從座起……白尊者大目揵連"我得於佛不壞淨，於法僧不壞淨，聖戒成就故生天上"。有一天言，"於佛不壞淨，有言得法不壞淨，有言得僧不壞淨，有言聖戒成就，身壞命終得生天上"。

時四十天子，於尊者大目揵連前各自記說，得須陀洹果，即沒不現。

[The same question and answer are repeated for the other five spheres of the angel-world (*devaloko*). Then the venerable Moggallāno the Great, being glad and rejoiced at the speech of Tisso the Brahmā, vanished from the world of the Brahmās, as quickly as a strong man could stretch forth his bent arm or his outstretched arm bend back, and appeared at the Conqueror's Grove.

This is a doctrine of the Epistles, the Apocalypse and the Fathers rather than of the Gospels, wherein, however, it finds some support, especially from the passage in Matthew. In the First Epistle of Peter, the Descent into Hades is to the disobedient, not to the righteous; but Ignatius, Irenæus and the Gospel of Nicodemus represent the Lord as going thither to save patriarchs and prophets, which is perhaps an expansion of Matthew's legend about the saints rising bodily from the grave

(1) This text corresponds to the Pali of Classified Collection LV. 18. (Siam edition Vol. V. pp. 351-352). (A.M.)

after Christ's resurrection, or perhaps founded upon language addressed to Peter according to the lost ending of the original Mark, traces of which appear among early Christian writings. (See Paul Rohrbach: *Schluss des Markusevangeliums*. Berlin, 1894). Peter also says, in his Epistle, that angelic potentates were made subject unto Christ. Eusebius, translating a Syriac document of the third century, has: "He descended alone, but rose again with many unto his Father." But the most remarkable parallel, in the New Testament itself, to the Buddhist doctrine of the Lord and his Church evangelising the angels, is in Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. As the force of the text is marred in our translation by its occurring in a long rhetorical-sentence, I venture to re-translate the essential matter thus:

"Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this grace given, to evangelise the nations with the unsearchable riches of the Christ .....to the intent that the manifold wisdom of God might now be PUBLISHED UNTO THE GOVERNMENTS AND THE AUTHORITIES IN THE HEAVENLY [REGIONS] BY MEANS OF THE CHURCH, according to the purpose of the Æons which [God] made in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Eph. III. 8-11).

This reminds us of the oft-repeated Buddhist text, which occurs more than once in our present translations: "What he has realised by his own supernal knowledge he publishes to this universe, with its angels, its fiend and its archangels," &c.

Angelic worship of the Christ is set forth in that sublimest chapter of the Apocalypse, wherein the heaven of the Old Testament is transformed in the twinkling of an eye into the heaven of the New, as the angels sing praises to the Divine Human with the same pæan sung formerly to the terrible Jehovah. (Rev. V. 12, compared with IV. 11). It is the same, yet not the same, for physical, or realised, wealth and might are added to abstract power.]

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77. The Prince of this World.

John XII. 31. (約翰傳十二の卅一).

Now is the judgement of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out.

Jhon XIV. 30, 31. (約翰傳十四の卅, 卅一).

I will no more speak much with you, for the prince of the world cometh: and he hath nothing in me; but that the world may know that I love the Father, and as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do. Arise, let us go hence.

Book of Temptations, Husbandman Chapter.

(Translated into German by Windisch: *Māra und Buddha*, 1895, p. 104).

[While Gotamo is discoursing at Sāvatthi upon Nirvāna, Māro appears as a husbandman, and says:]

"Philosopher, have you seen any oxen?"

"O Evil One, what hast thou to do with oxen?"

"O philosopher, mine alone is the eye, forms are mine; mine the realm of consciousness whereto the eye admits. Whither, philosopher, canst thou go to be released from me? Mine, too, philosopher, are sounds; the ear is mine, and the realm of consciousness whereto the ear admits. Mine likewise are the nose and its scents, the tongue and its tastes, the body and its touch. Mine alone, O philosopher, is the mind, mine the ideas (*dhammā*) and mine the realm of consciousness whereto the mind admits. Whither, O philosopher, canst thou go to be released from me?"

[Buddha admits all this, but says that Māro's misfortune is where these do not exist. Compare also the expressions, "realm of Māro," in *Sutta-Nipāto* 764; and "army of Māro," in the same book, 437. The said army includes gain, fame, honor &c.]

Classified Collection XXIII. 11.

Place: Sāvatthi. The venerable Rādho, sitting on one side, said unto the Lord: "Lord, men speak of Māro: what is Māro?"

"O Rādho, form is Māro; sensation is Māro; perception is Māro; the formative activities are Māro; consciousness is Māro. Seeing thus, O Rādho, the learned and noble disciple is disgusted with form, with sensation, with perception, the formative activities and consciousness."

C.T. 雜阿含三十三 (N.C. No. 544, 卷二 32 b).

〔佛在摩拘羅山 .....〕——爾時世尊告羅陀比丘言.

"諸所有色〔若過去, 若未來, 若現在, 若內, 若外, 若麤, 若細, 若好, 若醜, 若遠, 若近〕彼一切皆是魔所作. 受, 想, 行, 識亦復如

是。……是故羅陀，多聞聖弟子於色生厭〔厭故不樂，不樂故解脫，……〕於受想行識生厭〔厭故不樂……。〕

[Here we have the root of pessimism: the doctrine that the world-ruler is an evil power. All the texts that we might adduce about the woes of life would be mere corollaries to this central thesis.]

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78. The Psychical Body.

1 Corinthians XV. 44. (哥林多前書十五の四十四).

It is sown a natural [literally, psychical] body; it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual [body.]

Long Collection, Dialogue No. 2.

(Translated by Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1899, p. 87).

He [i. e. the philosopher] calls up the mental image of a mind-made body, and constrains his heart, saying: "I constrain myself." From this body he calls up the mental image of another body, having form, mind-made, complete with all its limbs and faculties.

C.T. 寂志果經 (N.C. No. 593, 戾十 98 b).

Cf. 長阿沙門果經 (N.C. No. 27, of No. 545, 戾九 88 b).[1]

比丘……使心無色，除去一切形類身諸有種，不失根本，當立身心。心化諸身，身足衆好，無所缺損。

[In *Digha* No. 9,[2] we read of three bodies: the material, the mind-made, and the formless. It is possible that Paul's psychical body corresponds to the second of these, and his spiritual body to the third; but it is commonly held that the psychical body is the natural or physical.]

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(1) This version omits all the similes and therefore this passage also. (A.M.)

(2) 布吒婆樓經 (N.C. No. 28, of No. 545 戾九 89 b): (1) 色身, (2) 欲界, (3) 無色界。 (A. M.)

79. Apparitions of the Departed.

Luke XXIV. 13-35. (路加傳廿四の十三—卅五).

And behold, two of them were going that very day to a village named Emmaus, which was threescore furlongs from Jerusalem. And they communed with each other of all these things which had happened. And it came to pass, while they communed and questioned together, that Jesus himself drew near, and went with them. But their eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What communications are these that ye have one with another, as ye walk? And they stood, still, looking sad. And one of them, named Cleopas, answering said unto him, Dost thou alone sojourn in Jerusalem and not know the things which are come to pass there in these days? And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him, The things concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people: and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him up to be condemned to death, and crucified him. But we hoped that it was he which should redeem Israel. Yea and beside all this, it is now the third day since these things came to pass. Moreover certain women of our company amazed us, having been early at the tomb; and when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive. And certain of them that were with us went to the tomb, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not. And he said unto them, O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Behoved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself. And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they were going: and he made as though he would go further. And they constrained him, saying, Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is now far spent. And he went in to abide with them. And it came to pass, when he had sat down with them to meat, he took the bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight. And they said one to another, Was not our heart burning within us, while he spake to us in the way, while he opened to us the

scriptures? And they rose up that very hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. And they rehearsed the things *that happened* in the way, and how he was known of them in the breaking of the bread.

Acts XXVI, 12-19. (使徒行傳廿六の十二—十九).

As I journeyed to Damascus with the authority and commission of the chief priests, at midday, O king, I saw on the way *a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me* and them that journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice saying unto me in the Hebrew language, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the goad. And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But arise, and stand upon thy feet: for to this end have I appeared unto thee, to appoint thee a minister and a witness both of the things wherein thou hast seen me, and of the things wherein I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom I send thee, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive remission of sins and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in me. Wherefore, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision.

Revelation I. 16. (默示錄一の十六).

His countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.

[Apparition of the risen Jesus to John.]

Middling Collection, Dialogue 143.(1)

[Sāriputto, Buddha's chief disciple, has been preaching to

(1) In 中阿教化病經 (N.C. No. 28. of No. 542, 戾五 34-35), Çāriputra does not accompany Ananda when he visits the householder Anāthapiṇḍadā. So the passage translated here is wanting in the Chinese. Instead of the passage the Chinese adds the story and verses of the Pāli Saṃyutta X. 8, *Suddatto*, as the householder's recollection of his conversion. The text tells further how the householder having been converted to the faith in Buddha has taken Çāriputra to Çrāvasti and how the Garden of Prince Jeta was dedicated to Buddha and his Saṅgha. The Sūtra concludes with the expression of the householder's gratitude toward Çāriputra and his joy that he was delighted with the latter's presence at his sick bed.

the great benefactor of the Order, Anāthapiṇḍiko, during the latter's last illness.]

When this was said, householder Anāthapiṇḍiko wept and shed tears. And the venerable Ānando said unto him: "Householder, do you assent and unite?"

"Lord Ānando, I do not assent or unite. For a long time have I visited the Master and also an educated monk; but no such religious discourse has ever been heard by me before."

"No such religious discourse, O householder, is revealed unto white-stoled householders: it is revealed unto initiates (*pabbajitā*)."

"Then let it be revealed, O Lord Sāriputto, unto white-stoled householders. For there are gentlemen born with but little stain who are perishing through not hearing the religion: they will be understanders thereof."

Then the venerable Sāriputto and the venerable Ānando, having instructed the householder with the foregoing instruction, arose and departed. (2)And not long thereafter the householder Anāthapiṇḍiko, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rose again in the [heavenly] host of Delight (*Tusitā*).(3) AND THEN THE SPIRIT (*devaputto*) OF ANĀTHAPIṆḌIKO, WHEN NIGHT WAS WANING, LIGHTED UP THE ENTIRE VICTOR'S GROVE WITH SURPASSING SPLENDOUR, AND DREW NIGH UNTO THE LORD. HAVING DONE SO, HE GAVE HIM REVERENT GREETING AND STOOD ASIDE. SO STANDING, THE SPIRIT OF ANĀTHAPIṆḌIKO ADDRESSED THE LORD IN STANZAS, SAYING:—

"This happy Victor's Grove,
Frequented by the Prophet's Church,

On the other hand the two Chinese Saṃyukta versions (雜阿二十二, N.C. No 544, 卷三 27-28 and 別雜九, N.C. No. 546, 卷五 62-63) put the text corresponding to the Pāli *Saṃyutta* II. 2. 10., *Anāthapiṇḍiko*, after the text corresponding to the above said *Sudatto* and one of them (別雜 No. 546) adds at the beginning of it the story of the *Majjhima Anāthapiṇḍiko* in short. Therefore the text of 別雜, N.C. No. 546, makes up just what the author has done here. But there too there is no mention of Ānanda and the first part of the passage here translated is wanting. (A. M.).

(2) Here begins the agreement with the Chinese given below. (A.M.)

(3) The passage in large type is the stereotyped form for the narratives in the Books of Apparitions, except that the phrase, "in stanzas," becomes "in a stanza," when only one verse is spoken, and is omitted altogether when the speech is in prose. The expression, "when night was waning," implies a vigil. See Parallel No. 16.

And dwelt in by Religion's King,
Produces joy for me.
Works, wisdom and religion,
Ethics, the highest life,—
Hereby are mortals pure,
And not by clan or wealth.
Therefore indeed a learned man,
Seeing his own goal clearly,
Must search religion well.
Thus therein is he purified.
Sāriputto, alone understanding it,
By ethics and by quietude,
Was the monk who reached the farther shore:
So let him be supreme."

S.T. 雜阿二十二 (N.C. No. 544, 辰三 28).
Cf. 別雜九 (N.C. No. 546. 辰五 63).

時給孤獨長者疾病命終生兜率天。〔爲兜率天子. .....於兜率天沒〕現於佛前稽首佛足，退坐一面，時給孤獨天子身放光明遍照祇樹給孤獨園。時給孤獨天子而說偈言

於此祇洹林　仙人僧住止　諸(法)王亦住此
增我歡喜心。深信淨戒業　智慧爲勝壽
以此淨衆生　非族姓財物　大智舍利弗[4]
正念常寂默　閑居修遠離　初建業良友。[5]

Thus spake the spirit of Anāthapiṇḍiko, The Master was assenting; whereupon the spirit said: "The Master assents to me," and, saluting the Lord, he kept Him on his right hand, and straightway vanished. Then the Lord, at the end of that night, addressed the monks and said: "To-night, monks, a certain spirit, when the night was waning, lighted up the entire Victor's Grove with surpassing splendour and drew nigh unto me. Having done so, he gave me reverent greeting and stood aside. So standing, the spirit addressed me in stanzas, saying:—

'This happy Victor's Grove, &c. [repeated].

This is what the spirit said, O, monks, adding: 'The Master assents to me; whereupon he saluted me, and keeping me on his right hand, straightway vanished."

(4) The four padas in Pāli, *tasmā.....visujjhati* ("therefore.....purified") are not found in both Chinese versions. (A.M.)

(5) This makes hardly any sense. Another version reads 最勝無倫匹, which agrees perfectly with the last line of the Pāli. (A.M.)

When this was spoken, the venerable Ānando said unto the Lord: "*Lord, this must be the spirit of Anāthapiṇḍiko: the householder Anāthapiṇḍiko was converted by the venerable Sāriputto.*"(6)

"'Tis well, Ānando, 'tis well. Thus much, Ānando, is attainable by reason, and has been attained by thee. That was the spirit of Anāthapiṇḍiko and no other, O Ānando."

Thus spake the Lord. The venerable Ānando, rejoicing, was gladdened by the utterance of the Lord.

說此偈已即沒不現。爾時世尊其夜過已入於僧中,……告諸比丘"今此夜中有一天子, 容色絕妙來詣我所。稽首我足退坐一面而說偈言

於此祇洹林 (如上, repeated)———."

爾時尊者阿難白佛言,"世尊〔如我解世尊言〕, 給孤獨長者生彼天上〔來見世尊〕然彼給孤獨長者於舍利弗極相敬重。"

〔佛告阿難〕"如是如是,阿難——給孤獨長者生於彼天上〔來見於我〕。……"(7)

佛說此經已, (阿難) 諸比丘聞佛所說, 歡喜奉行。

[The story of Anāthapiṇḍiko's apparition is repeated in the second Book of Apparitions in the Classified Collection. There are two Books of Apparitions, and they stand at the very outset of this great Collection. The first one is about apparitions of anonymous spirits, who are called *devatā*, and the book the *Devatā-Saṃyuttaṃ*. The second book is about apparitions of known persons, whose spirits are called *devaputtā*, and the book the *Devaputta-Saṃyuttaṃ*. The spirits are sometimes those of Buddha's former disciples, as Kassapo and Anāthapiṇḍiko; in one case, the spirits of philosophers of non-Buddhist sects; and yet again the gods of the Hindū pantheon: Çiva (in Pāli Sivo) and the spirits of the Moon and Sun. Curiously enough, these last two come to Buddha for deliverance from the grasp of Rāhu, the demon of eclipse. The spirit of the Moon is called Candimā (Cando being the Moon). Upon her appeal, Buddha replies:

"Candimā has gone for refuge
Unto the Arahat Tathāgato:
Rāhu must deliver the Moon:
The Buddhas have compassion on the world."

(6) Alluding to the eulogy of Sāriputto in the stanzas.

(月處虛空中　能滅一切闇……羅睺應速放).

The same thing happens with the Sun-spirit, and in each case deliverance is granted, and Rāhu has to explain himself to Vepacitti, the other High Demon. In the two Chinese versions of the fifth century, the Candimā-sutta is placed in the Devatā-Saṃyukta, instead of in the Devaputra; while the Suriya-sutta appears to be wanting altogether.(7)

There is no doubt at all that *Anāthapiṇḍiko Devaputto* means "the spirit of Anāthapiṇḍiko," in English parlance, and not merely some angel of that name. Ānando recognises him on account of the fact that Sāriputto, who had converted him when he (Anāthapiṇḍiko) was dying, was praised in the stanzas uttered by the ghost, while Gotamo endorses the identification. Be it noted, moreover, that Gotamo considers such identification as a piece of common sense (*takko*) and not one of the powers of an Arahat.

It is significant that there are no records of apparitions of the deceased Buddha. *He* had entered Nirvāna and could not reappear. But Anāthapiṇḍiko, a lay disciple, had only risen to the Tusitā-heaven, whither Buddha himself had gone before his last incarnation. Therefore Anāthapiṇḍiko could manifest himself, because his individuality persisted. Tylor shrewdly remarked long ago, in his *Primitive Culture*, that Buddhist nihilism was a piece of metaphysics, and in nowise precluded a highly specialised eschatology. Moreover, it is a favourite expression, in the Pāli Texts, to call denial of the hereafter "an impious heresy." (Dīgha 23; Majjhima 41 and 117. Cf. Itivuttaka 49 Dhammapada 176.) It is true that personality perishes at last: but so long as the ātman is cherished, so long does it persist, in this world again or in some other, whether material or spiritual. And here again, another pioneer of Tylor's time correctly interpreted the Buddhist doctrine from such books as Spence Hardy's *Manual*, which was for thirty years the standard work on Buddhism in Europe. I refer to the following passage in Draper's *Conflict between Religion and Science*:

"It admits that the idea of personality which has deluded us through life may not be instantaneously extinguished at death,

(7) I owe this information to a manuscript of Anesaki's. [Cf 雜阿二十二 (N. C. No. 544, 辰三 24 b) and 別雜九 (N.C. No. 546, 辰五 57 a). (A. M.)]

but may be lost by slow degrees. On this is founded the doctrine of transmigration." (Ed. 4, 1875, p. 122.)]

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80. After Death the Judgment.

Matthew V. 25, 26. (馬太傳五の廿五, 六).

Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art with him in the way; lest haply the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou have paid the last farthing.

Mark IX. 47, 48. (馬可傳九の四十七, 八).

And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, cast it out: it is good for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell; where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

Luke XVI. 22, 23. (路加傳十六の廿二, 三).

And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and that he was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom: and the rich man also died, and was buried. And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.

2. Corinthians V. 10. (哥林多後書五の十).

For we must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

Hebrews IX. 27. (希伯來書九の廿七).

It is appointed unto men once to die, and after this cometh judgment;

[The famous judgement-scene in Matthew XXV. is of a cosmical judgment: the above parallels are given in preference, because they relate, as does the Pāli, to individuals.]

Middling Collection, Dialogue 130.

(Translated from the King of Siam's edition, because not yet accessible in Roman letters).

Thus have I heard. At one season the Lord was staying at Sāvatthi, in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And the Lord addressed the monks, saying: "Monks!"

"Lord!" answered those monks, in reply unto the Lord. The Lord spake thus:

Monks, just as from a house with two doors an observant man standing in the midst can see men entering the dwelling and leaving it, walking about it and through it: just even so, monks, do I, with eye divine, pure and transcending the human, behold beings vanishing and rising again—beings base and noble, well-favored and ill-favored, happy and unhappy, according to their works (*kamma*); and I know that those beings possessed of good conduct in body, speech and mind, not upbraiding the elect ones, but right believers, incurring the karma of right belief, rise again, upon the dissolution of the body after death,—some in the world of weal and paradise, and some among the human; while those beings possessed of bad conduct in body, speech and mind, upbraiders of the elect ones, false believers, incurring the karma of false belief, do rise again, upon the dissolution of the body after death, either in the realm of ghosts or in the wombs of brutes, or[1] in the damnation, woe and perdition of hell.

Then, monks, the wardens of hell severally take him in their arms, and bring him before King Yamo, saying: "Your Majesty, this soul was undutiful toward friends, philosophers and brahmins, and honored not the elders in his family. Let your Majesty inflict punishment upon him."

C.T. 中阿天使經 (N.C. No. 64, of No. 542, 戾五 71-72).

Cf. 增阿二十四 (N.C. No. 543, 戾二 17-18).

我聞如是。一時佛遊舍衛國在勝林給孤獨園。爾時——世尊告諸比丘,".....猶如兩屋共一門多人出入,若有目人住一處,觀出時入時,.....我亦如是以淨天眼出過於人,見此衆生死時生時,好色惡色,或妙不妙,往來善處及不善處,隨此衆生之所作

(1) Warren (*Buddhism in Translation*, 1896, p. 255), translates a parallel text from the Numerical Collection, which here begins to agree, in the main, with our present passage.

業，見其如眞，若此衆生成就身惡行，口意惡行，誹謗聖人，邪見成就邪見業，彼因緣，此身壞命終，必至惡處生地獄中，若此衆生成就身妙行，口意妙行，不誹謗聖人，正見成就正見業，彼因緣此身壞命終必昇善處乃生天上。……

〔若衆生 ……不作福業…… …〕閻王人收送，詣王所白曰，"此衆生〔本爲人時〕不孝父母，不知尊敬沙門梵志〔不行如實…… …〕。唯願天王處當其罪。"

[Now follows the story of the Three Messengers, which the reader will find in Warren. The Majjhima, however, has five messengers.]

Thus saith Yamo the King:

"O soul, through thoughtlessness thou didst not right in body, speech and mind. Verily, O soul, they shall do to thee according to thy thoughtlessness. Moreover, this wickedness was not done by mother or father, brother or sister, friends or companions, relatives or kinsfolk; neither by philosophers, brahmins or spirits: by thee the wickedness was done, and thou alone shalt feel its consequence."

Then, O monks, the hell-wardens make him mount and descend a great blazing, flaming, glowing mountain of coal. There doth he feel severe and bitter pains, but dieth not until that wickedness be exhausted.

閻王告曰，

"汝了敗壞長衰永失，〔今當拷汝加治〕。放逸行放逸人，汝此惡業非父母爲，非天，亦非沙門梵志所爲，汝本自作惡不善業，是故汝今當受報。"

(2)……次生峯巖地獄，火滿其中，無烟無焰。……彼受極重苦不得死。

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81. Few that are Saved.

Matthew VII. 13, 14. (馬太傳七の十三，十四).

Enter ye in by the narrow gate: for wide is the gate and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many be they

(2) Here, after the description of the fifth messenger, are added some stanzas. The descriptions of the tormentation are minuter in the Chinese. At the end of the sūtra we find some verses similar to those of the Dhammapada 22 f. (A.M.

that enter in thereby. For narrow is the gate and straitened the way, that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it.

Luke XIII. 23, 24. (路加傳八の廿三, 廿四).

And one said unto him, Lord, are they few that be saved? And he said unto them, Strive to enter in by the narrow door: for many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able.

Numerical Collection I. 19.

Monks! just as, in this India, there are only a few pleasant parks, groves, landscapes, and lotus-ponds, but far more of broken ground, impassable rivers, tree-stumps, thorny roads, and rugged rocks: so also, monks! there are few beings who, when vanished from the human, are born again among humans; but far more who, when vanished from the human, are born again in hell, in the wombs of brutes or the haunt of ghosts; few who are born among the angels, more are born as I have said. And there are few beings, O monks! who, when vanished from the angelic, are born again among angels, but far more who vanish from the angelic to be born again in hell, in the wombs of brutes or the haunt of ghosts.

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82. The Beloved Disciple Reaches Heaven Here.

John Appendix (XXI. 22). (約翰傳廿一の廿二).

If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me.

Cf. Mark IX. 1.

Numerical Collection III. 80.

Udāyi, if Ānando should die with passion unsubdued, yet by his believing heart he would seven times obtain an angelic kingdom among the angels; and even in this India he would obtain a great kingdom seven times. But, O Udāyi, even in this life will Ānando enter Nirvāna.

[I owe the finding of this and some other passages to Edmund Hardy's splendid analysis of the Numerical Collection, appended to the last volume of the text, published by the London Pāli Text Society.]

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83. The Fate of the Traitor.

Mark XIV. 21. (馬可傳十四の廿一).

For the Son of man goeth, even as it is written of him: but woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for that man if he had not been born.

Matthew XXVII. 5. (馬太傳廿七の五).

And he cast down the plices of silver into the sanctuary, and departed; and he went away and hanged himself.

Acts I. 18. (使徒行傳一の十八).

Now this man obtained a field with the reward of his iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.

Major Section on Discipline, VII. 4.

(Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XX. p. 259).

Then and there did hot blood come forth from Devadatto's mouth.

C.T. 四分律四十六 (X.C. No. 1117, 列—5 b).

提婆達多 .. ... 熱血從面孔出。

[For attempting to take Gotamo's life Devadatto generates a karma that ultimates in this present life (S. B. E. XX, p. 246); but for making schism in the Order he generates an æon-lasting fault (p. 254, and our present work, p. 213). When one of his partisans informs him that his party is defeated, he vomits blood, as in the text.

In the Christian case, later legend lessened the doom of Judas, as in the story of Papias that he walked about with swollen body; but in the Buddhist case, later legends exaggerated the doom to death on the spot.]

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84. An Eternal (i. e. Æon-lasting) Sin.

Mark III. 29. (馬可傳三の廿九).

Whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin.

Minor Section on Discipline, VII. 3.

(Translated in S. B. E., XX. p. 254).

"Is it true, Devadatto, as they say, that thou goest about to stir up schism in the Order and schism in our society?"—"It is true, O Lord."—"Enough, Devadatto. Let not schism in the Order be pleasing unto thee: serious, O Devadatto, is a schism in the Order. Whosoever, Devadatto, divides the Order when it is at peace gives birth to *an œon-lasting fault*, and for an æon he is tormented in hell. But whosoever, Devadatto, makes peace in the Order when it has been divided gives birth to the highest merit (literally, Brahmā-merit), and for an æon he is happy in Paradise."

C.T. 四分律四十六 (N.C. No. 1117, 列六 5 a).

〔佛言〕"此癡人破僧〔有八非正法纏縛覆障消滅善法〕提婆達多趣於非道, 在泥犂中, 一劫不救。....."——

Cf. 增阿五. (N.C. No. 543, 戊一 18 a).

提婆兜受罪一劫不可療治。

[The words *αἰωνιον ἁμαρτημα*, in Mark III. 29 are the exact verbal equivalent of the Pāli *kappaṭṭhikam kibbisam*, or, as the Siam edition has it, *kappaṭṭhitikam*. The phrase is unique in the New Testament, and indeed its strangeness caused the copyists to alter it in early manuscripts, as Dean Alford long since pointed out, in the *apparatus criticus* of his Greek Testament. It was one of the these corrupted readings, viz., "eternal damnation," which was adopted by the King James' translators. Our present reading is, says Rendel Harris, the correct one: it is that of the oldest Greek MSS., the Latin Vulgate, and the best modern editors.

Schism is the deadly sin of Buddhism, the other four of its deadly sins being rare deeds of violence—matricide, parricide, saint-murder and wounding a Buddha. The deadly sin of the

New Testament is resistance to the Divine operation, while that of the Mazdeans is self-defilement, (S. B. E. Vol. IV., p. 101). The Christian and Buddhist ones are of long retribution, but terminable, for everlasting hell was not generally held by the Jews at the time of Christ, and can hardly be read into the Master's terms. Only the Mazdean uses the language of absolute despair, but if the universalism of the Bundahish be a true tradition from the lost Dāmdād Nosk, then even this sin is finally forgiven. In Plato's *Phædo*, certain souls *never* come out of Tartarus; but in view of his doctrine of cycles, the literal force of this "never" is annulled. Hell is not everlasting in the Talmud (Tract *Shabbath*, Chap. 2, Rodkinson's translation, p. 58), but retribution is for one year. R. H. Charles has shown, however, that opposing theories were rife among the Jews, but that Jesus taught a terminable punishment.]

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85. Universal Salvation.

Mark X. 25-27. 馬可傳十の廿五—廿七).

It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. And they were astonished exceedingly, saying unto him, Then who can be saved? Jesus looking upon them saith, With men it is impossible, but not with God: for all things are possible with God.

1 Cor. XV. 24-26, 28. (哥林多前書十五の廿四—廿六, 廿八).

Then cometh the end, when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have abolished all rule and all authority and power. For he must reign, till he hath put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be abolished is death.

And when all things have been subjected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that God may be all in all.

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XI. p. 116-117).

All beings in the world, yea, all

Shall lay aside their complex form,
Even as such a Master,
Without a rival in the world,
The Tathāgato, who hath attained unto power,
Buddha supreme unto Nirvāna goes.

C.T. 長阿遊行經 (N.C. No. 2 of No. 545, 戾九 22 a).
Cf. 現身佛と法身佛 (p. 136-137).

一切民萌類　皆當捨諸陰　佛爲無上尊
世間無等倫　如來大雄聖　有無畏神力
世尊當久住　而今般涅槃

* * * * * * *

86. Joy in Heaven over Goodness on Earth.

Luke XV. 7. (路加傳十五の七).

I say unto you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninty and nine righteous persons, which need no repentance.

Numerical Collection III. 36.

Monks, on the eighth day of the fortnight the assembled associates of the Four Great Kings walk through this world, and say: Are there among men many men who are dutiful to friends, parents, philosophers and priests; who honor the elders in their family, keep the Sabbath and make it observed, and do good deeds?

Monks, on the fourteenth day of the fortnight, the sons of the Four Great Kings walk through this world and ask the same question.

Moreover, monks, on the fiftienth Sabbath the Four Great Kings themselves walk through this world and ask the same question.

Monks, if there be among men few men who are dutiful in all these things, the Four Great Kings announce the fact unto the angels of the Thirty-three while sitting assembled in the beautiful hall of religion, saying: "Your Excellencies, there are among men few men who are dutiful to friends and parents, philosophers and priests; who honor the elders in their

family, keep the Sabbath and make it observed, and do good deeds." Then, monks, the angels of the Thirty-three are sad and say: "Ah! the angelic ranks (or, bodies) will be thinned, and the diabolic ranks be replenished!"

But if, O monks, there be among men many men who are dutiful in all these things, the Four Great Kings announce the fact to the Thirty-three, as before, and the angels of the Thirty-three are glad, saying: "Ah! the angelic ranks will be replenished, and the diabolic ranks be thinned!"

C.T. 增阿十六 (N.C. No. 543, 戊一 64 b).

北丘當知，或有是時，八日齋日四天王〔遣諸輔臣〕觀察世間，"誰有作善惡者，何等衆生，有慈孝父母，沙門婆羅門及尊長者，頗有衆生…… 持八關齋者。……

若十四———

當知十五日說戒之時———

是時輔臣白四天王，"今此世間無有衆生孝順父母沙門道士〔行四等心慈愍衆生"。時四天王聞已，便懷愁憂慘然不悅〕。是時四天王即往忉利天上集善法講堂，以此因緣具白帝釋，"天帝當知，今此世間無有衆生，孝順父母，沙門婆羅門及尊長者 ——"。是時帝釋三十三天〔聞斯語已，皆懷愁憂慘然不悅〕"減諸天衆，增益阿須倫衆"。

設復有時，若世間衆生之類，有孝順父母沙門婆羅門及尊長者，持八關齋…… ..爾時〔使者歡喜…… 即白四王…… ...天王即往釋提桓因……〕時帝釋三十三天…… 增益諸天衆，損減阿須倫衆。……"

* * * * * * *

87. Salvation by the Church.

Acts II. 47. (使徒行傳二の四十七).

The Lord added to [the church] daily those that were being saved.

[The words, "the church," though a later addition to the text, are implied by the context. I have made my own translation here.]

Classified Collection XL. 10.

At one season the venerable Moggallāno the Great was staying at Sāvatthi, in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And as quickly as a strong man could stretch forth his bent arm or his outstretched arm bend back, even so the venerable Moggallāno the Great vanished from the Conqueror's Grove, and was present among the angels of the Thirty-three.

Now Sakko, the lord of the angels, together with five hundred spirits (*devatā*) approached the venerable Moggallāno the Great, and saluting him, stood on one side. And the venerable Moggallāno the Great spake thus unto Sakko, the lord of the angels, as he so stood:

"Good is it, O lord of the angels, to take refuge in the Buddha. By reason of so doing, O lord of the angels, there are some beings here who, upon the dissolution of the body after death, are born again in the world of weal and paradise.

"Good likewise is it, O lord of the angels, to take refuge in the Doctrine (*Dhammo*). By reason thereof there are some beings here who, upon the dissolution of the body after death, are born again in the world of weal and paradise.

"Good is it likewise, O lord of the angels, To TAKE REFUGE IN THE ORDER. BY REASON OF TAKING REFUGE IN THE ORDER THERE ARE BEINGS HERE WHO, UPON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE BODY AFTER DEATH, ARE BORN AGAIN IN THE WORLD OF WEAL AND PARADISE."

C.T. 雜阿十九 (N.C. No. 544, 戊三 7b).[1]

時天帝釋〔見世尊與尊者大目揵連敷說，諸天衆共語已〕語尊者大目揵連，

"如是如是，尊者大目揵連，此中種々衆會，皆是宿命，曾聞正法，得於佛不壞淨，

法僧不壞淨，聖戒成就，自壞命終而來生"

[The doctrine of salvation by the Church still further developed in *The Questions of King Milindo*, where we read that Devadatto was saved from everlasting transmigration by joining the Order. Though salvation is made possible or accelerated by the Church, we must not suppose that Gotamo regarded non-Buddhists as lost. In Dīgha 16 (S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 107) we

(1) The scene of the story is on the heaven of Indra. (A.M.)

read, it is true: "Other systems are void of philosophers (*samaṇos*)." (外道異衆無沙門果, 長阿遊行經, 戾九 21 a).

But it is explained that this is because they do not recognise the Noble Eightfold Path (i.e. the necessity of a moral life). *But wherever this is taught, there is salvation.* With a like insistence, in Majjhima 71, Gotamo says that for ninety-one aeons he does not remember any naked ascetic going to paradise except one, *and he was a believer in the moral fruition of acts.* Moreover, in a passage from the Numerical Collection, translated on p. 151, we are told that the votaries of other religions are rewarded according to their faithfulness and understanding.]

* * * * * * *

88. Death in the Open Air.

Mark XV. 22. (馬可傳十五の廿二).

And they bring him unto the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, The place of a skull.

Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated by T.W. Rhys Davids in S. B. E. Vol. XI, p. 86).

Now at that season the twin sāl-trees were all one mass of blossom with untimely blooms.

C.T. 長阿遊行經 (N.C. No. 515, 戾九 17 b).
樹〔神〕以非時華布散于地。

C.T. 大般涅槃經中 (N.C. No. 118, 戾十 28 p).
爾時雙樹忽然生花墮如來上。

C.T. 別雜六 (N.C. No. 548, 辰五 37 b. Cf. 辰 = 109).

雙樹入涅槃	枝條四遍布	上下而雨華
繒尊散佛上	所以雨花者	世尊入涅槃

[All over Christendom there are pictures of the Crucifixion, and all over Buddhadom there are pictures of the Parinirvāṇa. Both of these august tragedies took place in the open air, not in a stifling bed-chamber, whether of palace or of slum. The

American poet Poe has said that life in the open air is one of the prime necessities of happiness, and the lives and deaths of our two great Masters were fulfilled therein.]

* * * * * * *

APPENDIX.

UNCANONICAL PARALLELS.

As the present work is intended to be a collection of original documents, second-hand translations would be out of place, and my knowledge of Sanskrit, while sufficient for purposes of verification, is not sufficient for translation; while of Chinese I know only the radicals, and of Singhalese and Tibetan, nothing. It is in these languages that many later parallels are found. Pāli commentaries also would yield some, but to these generally I have not access; and if I had, it would be no part of my present plan to use them. The reader may consult the works of Spence Hardy, Beal, and other scholars who have translated from the languages named, to find examples. I merely add here a few notes on some of especial interest. They are all probably præ-Christian except the last two, which, like most extra-canonical parallels, are post-Christian, in their present forms.

A collection of such parallels would probably suggest a Christian influence upon later Buddhism; and indeed we know that, in the eighth century, a Chinese emperor had to forbid the two religions to be mixed. (See Takakusu's note in his I-Tsing: Oxford, 1896, p. 224).

* * * * * * *

1. Money found in Fishes.

Matthew XVII. 27.

Go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish

that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a shekel: that take, and give unto them for me and thee.

Birth-Story 288, Stanza 1.

Fishes are worth as much as a thousand [pieces.]
There is no one who could believe this.
But to me let them be here seven pence:
I would fain buy even this [whole] string of fishes.

[It is needless to reproduce the story: we merely give the principal stanza, which is older than the prose, and contains an indication of the antiquity of the legend, but none as to its form. The Jātakas are semi-canonical at best, and for this reason I class this parallel in the Appendix. The fishes are bought by the man whose money they have swallowed. Compare Grimm's Folk-tales, No. 17.]

* * * * * * *

2. The Wheel of Life.

James III. 6.

The tongue is a fire: the world of iniquity among our members is the tongue, which defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the wheel of nature (or, birth), and is set on fire by hell.

[This expression, "wheel of genesis," in James was pointed out by Schopenhauer, in his *Parerga*, as an allusion to the Buddhist Wheel of Life; but it is very probable that the Babylonian wheel of life was the one which reached Palestine, and India herself may also be indebted thereto. (See Goblet d'Alviella, in *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*: Bruxelles, 1898, Vol. 36, p. 462).]

* * * * * * *

3. Woman at the Well.

John IV. 7-9.

There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water: Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink. For his disciples were gone away into the city to buy food. The Samaritan woman therefore

saith unto him, How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a Samaritan woman? (For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans).

[In the Sanskrit Divyāvadāna,[1] p. 611, there is a story that Ānando, one day at Sāvatthi, went to a well and asked water of a lowcaste woman who was drawing it. She replied: "Lord Ānando, I am a woman of the lowest caste!" He answers that he asked not of her birth and family, but only for water. The story is translated into French, from the Sanskrit, in Burnouf's *Introduction*, ed, 1876, p. 183; and into English, from Chinese, in Beal's *Abstract of Four Lectures*, 1882, p. 166. As is usually the case, the Chinese versions (post-Christian) bring out agreements with the Gospel unknown to the Sanskrit. Thus, in one of them, the woman asks: "Why askest thou water of me who am a low-caste woman?"]

* * * * * * *

4. The Wandering Jew.

In 1899, a Japanese scholar, Kumagusu Minakata, then sojourning in London, propounded in *Notes and Queries*, a Buddhist analogue to the legend of the Wandering Jew. It is found in the Chinese version of the Saṃyuktāgama, one of the canonical collections of Buddha's Dialogues. I have not, however, been able to find it in the Pāli Saṃyutta Nikāyo (or Classified Collection) which is a different sectarian recension of the same as the Chinese. On the other hand, the story is in the Sanskrit of the Divyāvadāna, a collection of extracts from the Buddhist Canon, together with later additions, compiled sometime between the second century B. C. and perhaps the sixth century A. D. The Chinese translation of the Classified Collection dates from the fifth century A. D., while the Sanskrit or Prākrit original is lost.

The story is that Piṇḍolo, one of Buddha's disciples, being challenged by unbelievers to work a miracle, flew up into the air and brought down an alms-bowl which had been fixed on a pole.

(1) I class both this and the Mahāvastu as uncanonical, not because I am a bigoted Theravādin and believe only in the Pāli Texts, but because, albeit containing ancient canonical substrata from the lost recensions of other sects, those Sanskritised books have come down to us in late redactions and with no credentials of correct transmission.

Buddha reproved him for this, and forbade his disciples to work miracles for display. Thus far the story is in the Pāli Canon, in the Book of Discipline, and may be found in English at page 79 of Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XX. But the two later sources add the statement that Buddha told Piṇḍolo:

"Na tāvat te parinirvātavyam yāvad Dharmo nāntarhita iti."

"Thou shalt not attain Nirvāna" (i.e. die) until the Dharma (i.e. Buddhist Gospel) disappears." The expression, "attain Nirvāna," is applied to the death of an Arahat, for, like other Asiatics, the Hindūs have different verbs "to die," according to the rank of the departed. Buddha therefore said: "You shall not die while my religion lasts. As the Buddhists believe in a coming Buddha who will be greater than Gotamo was, this also means: "You shall not die until the next Buddha comes to earth."

Curiously enough the passage was translated by Burnouf in 1844 in his great Introduction to (later) Buddhism, *Introduction a l'histoire du Buddhisme indien*, second edition, 1876. p. 355). But scholars appear to have overlooked the parallel to the Christian legend until the Japanese savant pointed it out.

The first appearance in Europe of the legend of the Wandering Jew is in the Chronicle of Roger of Wendover, where we read that the story was told at the monastery of St. Alban's in the year 1228, by an Armenian archbishop then visiting England. It appears to have been known already in that country, for the English monks begin by asking their visitor about the mysterious wanderer. The archbishop says that he has himself conversed with him, for he roams about the Orient, passing his time among bishops.

Now we know that Persia and Armenia were buffer-states between India and the hither East, and that Hindū legends, like that of Barlaam and Joasaph, passed through those lands on their way to us. Unless we can find a Christian original for the story of the Wanderer earlier than the fifth century, when the Chinese Classified Collection was translated, we must give the Buddhist story the priority, and strongly suspect that, like the Holy Grail, it probably gave rise to the Christian one.

Until the vast literature preserved in China is translated, we shall have few facts to judge from. Fā-Hien heard the Buddhist Holy Grail story preached from a Ceylon pulpit in the fifth century, and there was great religious and literary activity in China

and Chinese Turkestan from his time onward. Christianity and Buddhism met; their legends were interchanged and at times confused, as in the case of St. Joasaph; until at last a Chinese emperor forbade the intermixture and decreed that the Syrian Messiah and the Indian Buddha should be kept distinct.

* * * * * * *

5. Disciple Walking on the Water.

In the Introductory Story to Jātaka 190, there is a legend of a monk walking on the water of the river Aciravatī by fixing his mind on Buddha, but beginning to sink as soon as he looked at the waves. Collecting his mind again, he walks upon the river to meet the Buddha in the Conqueror's Grove. As the introductory stories to the Jātakas are of late origin, probably post-Christian, we have not included this story among our parallels. It is to be noted that the Christian legend, in Matthew XIV, is also of later origin than the Synoptical groundwork. It is told of Peter, and yet is not found in the Petrine Gospel of Mark. The legendary character of the *narrative* additions to the First Gospel is recognised by all historical critics. At the same time, both the Buddhist and Christian tales in question are built upon a primitive doctrine: viz., the power of the Master (Christianity) or of the Arahat (Buddhism) to walk upon the water.

Let it be noted, however, that, besides the uncanonical introductory story, there is the Jātaka proper (No. 190) which relates a similar thing. But it is told as a fairy-tale of the long past, and lacks the striking Gospel parallelism of the uncanonical myth.

In the latter we may perhaps trace a Christian loan.

* * * * * * *

6. God shall be All in All.

1 Cor. XV. 28.

And when all things have been subjected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that God may be all in all.

Lafcadio Hearn, in his **Gleaning in Buddha-fields** (Boston, 1897, p. 96) quotes, from a Japanese text called Engaku-sho, as follows:

"It has been written that in whatsoever time all human minds accord in thought and will with the mind of the Teacher, *there shall not remain even one particle of dust that does not enter into Buddhahood.*"

Teitaro Suzuki tells me that this is taken from the section of the Mahāyāna Canon called Avataṃsaka.

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佛教及基督教之福音

本會學術講演は第一回を十月廿一日に開き其より以後便宜東京諸區并地方諸都市を巡回す地方にて右講演開會希望の向は姉崎に申込みを乞ふ

人の類を差出さざるにつき出金は直接姉崎に申込み又は送金あらん事を乞ふ

追て本會會員となり本會の爲に義金を投ぜらるゝ諸君は出金額と住所氏名とを東京小石川指ケ谷町七十八番地姉崎正治に申込みありたし又本會は勸誘員集金

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明治三十六年十月

六、紀念園開園式ヲ擧ゲルノ日ヲ期シテ本會ヲ財團組織トナス

五、本會員ハ本會ノ集會ニ出席シ及ビ園ヲ使用スルヲ得

四、本會ノ爲ニ金壹圓以上ヲ寄附シタル人及本會ノ爲ニ盡力シタル人ヲ本會々員トス

三、評議會ノ開閉ハ幹事會之ヲ管シ幹事會ハ其決議ニ從テ本會ノ事業ヲ擧ゲ

二、當初ノ賛成人ヲ以テ本會ノ事務ハ當初ノ發起人ヨリ成ル幹事會ニテ處理ス

一、龍華寺ナル樗牛埋骨地ノ造園ヲナス

二、園内ニ紀念標ヲ建テ及ビ本會ノ家屋ヲ建築シ之ヲ樗牛關係ノ書類ヲ蒐集スル場所及ビ本會會員ノ集會所ニ宛ツ

一、樗牛ニ關係アル地（多分鎌倉）ニ紀念ノ庭園ヲ開ク

二、紀念事業ハ當分左ノ事項ヲ目的トシ便宜ニ從テ之ヲ遂行ス

一、本會ハ故高山樗牛ノ爲ニ紀念事業ヲ擧ゲ并ニ之ニ志要ナル金額ヲ募集スル爲ニ組織ス

樗牛會規約

愚衷を洞察してこゝに此擧に賛同あらん事を江湖諸兄姉に祈る

の爲に努力したき念願と故人に對する吾等の友情とは期せずして同人の一致する所と成り終に左の如き規約の下に樗牛會の成立を見るに至りぬ願くは吾等の風教文藝の勃興天才の擁護を俟ずして自から生れ出でんことは自然の數なるべけれども聊か亡友の紀念事業を中心として精神上の文明に資するも微意に外ならず想ふに清新の氣象を以て宗教文藝に志ある人の自由なる集會所となし此に依て亡友の志業を繼紹せむと欲するの今日吾等同人相寄りてこゝに樗牛會を組織し敢て大方の賛助を請ふ所以のものは畢竟故樗牛のために紀念事業を起こし其紀念の庭園を以て宗教文藝に志ある人の自由なる集會所となし此に依て亡友の志業を繼紹せむとするの故高山樗牛逝してよりまさに一ケ年にならむとするの

り。求道の士も、研究の人も各この書中にその寶珠を拾ふを得べし。

書中一方は流麗の行文を以て信仰と歷史との內奧を發揮叙說し、他方之に對してあらゆる佛典の史料に原語にて參照せ前半生の力を盡せし結果、この一書に縮寫せり。

著者が東西の碩學に就き、歐洲日本の圖書館を叩き、五天竺を踏破し、而して之を貫くに信仰問題の一點を以てして、に信仰の深奧なる考察とに依りてこの疑問に答へんとす。

は佛敎歷史の大問題にして、又宗敎信仰、向上道行の大宿題なり。著者は歷史的に經典の廣博なる比較研究と、宗敎的肉身五慾の一沙門が如何にして、覺者師主なり、現實の佛陀如來は如何にして常住不壞の法身佛となりしか。この疑問

現身佛と法身佛

▲文學博士姉崎正治著▼

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是れこの二大宗教が接觸して以來最初の完全なる對照也。日月の幷び懸るが如く、帝綱の相映するに似たり。佛徒の爲にその聖典の出處と漢文本文とを明かにし、新約聖書日本文の所在を示せり。

して、忠實に二教教主の福音を對照す。單に學術上未曾有の新著たるのみならず、又信仰上の珍寶たり。加ふるに日支佛教と基督教との比照、それのみにても學術界、宗教界の難事業なり。本書は平行一致を一々二者聖典の原語より翻譯

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批評に對する答辯とを增補す、干戈の黑雲にも蔽はれざりし。曙光が一段の光彩を添へたるを見られよ。

この聲に應じて世間は如何に反響したるか、その光りは如何に世の暗を破りたるか。五版發行に及びて、著者の補說と

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書、職業的哲學者を罵倒し、宗教的迷信を掃討す、以て二十世紀文明の洗禮を授くるに足る。
論の領袖たり、タイヰン及びヲッリスの敬する所、スペンサスの畏るゝ所、眞に宇宙迷語を解くの任ある碩學なり、此心說と同價値なり、而して當二十世紀の哲學は應に生物學的一元論なるべし、今、ヘッケル氏は生物學の泰斗にして進化
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宇宙の謎

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書筆を原始宗教に起し、佛耶兩大教はもとより、東西幾多の教旨、公平正確に比較研究し以て、修理明晰、筆端縱橫、
◉宗教は千古の秘密、人生の一大問題なり。其の發展激烈は決して偶然にあらず一定系統の存するなかるべからず。本

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